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ABSTRACT

A study of the relationship of teacher attitudes toward and comprehension of Black English examined certain characteristics of a group of university graduate students in education in relation to their self-evaluations of Black English comprehension, stated attitudes, and types of interpretation errors. The characteristics of graduate students examined included years of formal teacher education, number of linguistics and English grammar courses taken, foreign languages studied, age, and sex. Eight specific hypotheses were tested. Results indicate a mean comprehension level of 60 percent (range 43.3 to 71.2 percent), with significantly higher levels among student teachers having taken grammar and linguistics courses and those who had taught longer. No positive correlation between the teachers' attitudes toward and comprehension of Black English was found. It is recommended that further research on comprehension and communication in classes in which some students speak Black English be performed, and that teachers take more courses in grammar and linguistics, especially Black English. (MSE)

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ASSESSING AFRO-AMERICAN ENGLISH COMPREHENSION BY STUDENT TEACHERS WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS MAINSTREAM ENGLISH

A Dissertation Presented to The
Graduate Faculty of The College of Education
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

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E.B.C.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The mismatch between the language of Afro-American English speakers and the language of instruction, Mainstream English, has been widely discussed and researched over the past fifteen or twenty years. According to Levy (1974), an analysis of dialect features in the speech of first graders in a low socioeconomic neighborhood showed that every child's speech contained some Afro-American English features and that no child used them all or used them consistently. She admits that the correlates of being poor and black may also be operative, but states that none of these conditions precludes the advisability of direct pedagogical efforts with the resources available to educators.[1]

The bidialectal approach similar to that used for teaching Mainstream English to Spanish speakers in American schools has been recommended by some (J. Baratz, 1974; Jaggar, 1974; Stewart, 1974),[2] but many sociolinguists disagree with this approach as placing obstacles in the paths of those who are in most need of being able to communicate with society outside their own individual neighborhoods (K. B. Black, New York Times, March 18, 1973; N. A. Ford, Washington Post, July 1, 1973; quoted by Stoller, 1975).[3] The approach advocated by many of the sociolinguists involved in the area of Afro-American speech in educational environments is that initial responsibility is with the teacher to be able to communicate with the children being taught, and toward that end teachers should be trained in the phonology, structure, and semantics of Afro-American English (K. Goodman, 1969; Wolfram, 1972; Moulton, 1976).[4]

In the area of language there has been a growing awareness of the historical and functional legitimacy of Afro-American English, with research having been done primarily on syntactic and phonological differences between it and Mainstream English. Knowledge of the rhetorical style of Afro-American English speech has been recommended as a means for understanding what the Afro-American student is trying to communicate, and as a means for giving teachers more understanding of how to formulate their own messages and responses in order to elicit desired information (Paznik, 1976; Piestrup, 1973).[5]

Stewart (1969)[6] stated that if the language being used and taught in the school is other than the one in which the child has already acquired pre-school fluency, the teaching method must, of necessity, be quite different from that of teaching language to a child who already knows and practices the language taught and the language in which other subjects are taught. According to Strickland (1974),[7] teachers must be trained in the phonology and structure of the dialect or language that is prevalent in the area in which they teach. Chennault (1977) indicates a belief that as greater sophistication about the pluralistic nature of American society is achieved, teachers will recognize the necessity of understanding the meanings expressed by Afro-American English, instead of negatively reinforcing or denigrating Afro-American English. Imhoof (1971) and Holt (1972, pp. 43-8) had earlier indicated the same hope.[8]

Codgell and Wilson (1980) reiterate the need for the Afro-American to achieve self-respect. They maintain that the disinclination of Mainstream English speaking teachers to accommodate their Afro-American English speaking students by attempting to understand their language is an indication of a lack of recognition of the Afro-American culture, thus assuring the fulfillment of the low expectations held by many Mainstream English speaking teachers.[9]

To understand basic phonological, lexical, and syntactic differences between Mainstream English and Afro-American English does not require that the teacher speak the language of the students. Fickett (1975) specifically recommends that Mainstream English speaking teachers not speak Afro-American English, unless it is with the understanding that their students recognize that they are making an effort to use Afro-American English in order to learn it.[10] Rubin (1974) warns that a Mainstream English speaker attempting to speak Afro-American English without having had instruction would be regarded by Afro-Americans as being either intrusive and/or ignorant.[11] This does not imply, however, that an effort should not be made to comprehend Afro-American English. It has been suggested that if the teachers were themselves subjected to the stress of learning the language of the students whom they teach, they would come to understand to a greater degree the difficulties under which an Afro-American English speaker must operate (Dillard, 1973; Burling, 1975).[12]

There is much to be gained by acknowledging the existence of Afro-American English as a legitimate linguistic system. Linguists, and particularly sociolinguists, have pointed out that Afro-American English is a complete and distinct linguistic system--albeit related to Mainstream English, much as Portuguese and Spanish bear strong resemblances to each other, or, as suggested by Houston (1975),[13] as are Bavarian and Berliner German, having distinct phonological and syntactic rules different from Mainstream English (J. Baratz, 1976; Horner, 1976).[14] As Mays pointed out in 1977, "Black children will continue to use dialect speech for many years to come," and to show "understanding and appreciation for the child and his dialect, one is really expressing the same for his culture and community."[15]

Bloom (1981) states that most students can master the subject matter given in the public schools and that it is the task of instruction to find the means which will enable them to do so.[16] Stable characteristics are established at an early age, and those underlying personality, habits, and motivation are those for which the cultural norms and values remain relatively constant. Vocabulary development, general interest in reading books and periodicals, and general scholastic achievement may be very stable. He maintains (Bloom, 1964, Chap. 4) that the classroom is an environment which augments or changes characteristics learned at home.[17]

> It is much easier to learn something new than it is to stamp out one set of learned behaviors and replace them by a new set. The effect of earlier learning on later learning is considered in most learning theories under such terms as habit, inhibition, and restructuring. Although each learning theory may explain the phenomena in different ways, most would agree that the first learning takes place more easily than a later one that is interfered with by an earlier learning. Observations of the difficulties one experiences in learning a new language after the adolescent period and the characteristic mispronunciations which tend to remain throughout life are illustrations of the same phenomena. (Bloom, 1964).[18]

Bloom argues that the schools as part of society must seek ways to bring about greater consistency between home and school as they influence educational development, and recommends that special efforts will need to be made in school to help the child in such areas as language and motivation (Bloom, 1981).[19] When the school environment is at variance with the home and peer environment, ways must be found to reconcile these different environments (Bloom, 1964).[20]

A teacher aware of contrasts between Afro-American English and Mainstream English, having at least a partial knowledge of Afro-American English, could recognize some of the areas of miscommunication and would be better able to assist their students in their efforts to learn Mainstream English (Abrahams and Gay, 1975; Bradford, 1973; Burling, 1973; Gladney, 1973).[21] This study is an effort to obtain evidence as to teacher attitude toward, and comprehension of, Afro-American English, and, by extension, teacher attitude toward the Afro-American English speaking student.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to determine the relationship between Mainstream English speech and Afro-American English speech as it is affected by:

1. Teacher attitude toward Afro-American English,
2. Teacher self-evaluation of comprehension of Afro-American English,
3. Years of formal teacher education,

4. Number of linguistics courses taken by teachers,
5. Number of English grammar courses taken by teachers,
6. Foreign languages studied by teachers,
7. Age of teachers,
8. Sex of teachers, and
9. The types of interpretation errors made by teachers.

Importance of the Study

The nature of Afro-American speech and its potential use in the classroom "have become," according to Stoller (1975), "part and parcel of a sociopolitical controversy."[22] With the recommendations made by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teachers of English (1979)[23] that Schools of Education should "[e]xamine linguistic variations . . . as a basis for the development of appropriate teaching strategies," an attempt has been made to encourage acceptance of cultural diversity in the classroom.

However, Hurn states that "studies of social interaction and miscommunication in the classroom are still in their infancy" (1979).[24] Cullinan and Kocher indicated that research has begun to provide useful evidence concerning means and ways to assist minority groups in attaining better education, and teachers are expressing the desire for information on how to communicate and work with children whose language varies from Mainstream English (1974).[25] Shuy (1975) recommends that teachers be encouraged to consider problems of dialect interference through examination of phonological, syntactic, and orthographic differences in relation to teaching reading to those students who speak a different variety of English from that used in the texts.[26]

Banks emphasized the "urgent need to change the perceptions and racial feelings of classroom teachers," recognizing that attitudes and predispositions of the classroom teacher toward different races and groups "are an important variable in a program designed to foster positive racial feelings and augment the black child's self-image" (1972).[27] It is proposed that language as a major component of human communication is one of the bases on which attitudes towards others can be constructed.

Wolfram (1972) states that the attitude toward the "intricate and unique language system [of

Afro-American English] is probably the biggest problem we face."[28] Brasch (1981) states that "reactions and opinions about Black English are often based on nonlinguistic, often emotional evidence."[29] Nick Aaron Ford, professor of English at Morgan State College "pointed to a very real sociolinguistic problem--in his view, Black students, teachers, and parents generally do not accept Black English as a 'proper' language" (Brasch, 1981).[30] Such an attitude intimates strongly that the student is not a "proper" student.

Walker (1971)[31] states that "[l]inguistic factors are very important in determining what the child gets out of the school experience," and Shuy (1970) and Stewart (1970)[32] strongly recommend that teachers be introduced to foreign language teaching techniques if they are to work with Afro-American English speaking children.

Teachers who are unaware of the patterns of their own speech often attempt to teach "perfect" formal speech when they are themselves speaking "naturally," demonstrating by their own behavior the very thing they tell their students not to do (Burling, 1973).[33] Burling points out that "[m]any teachers in inner city schools, including many black teachers, have themselves struggled to escape the nonstandard dialect of their own parents . . . [and] may still be insecure about their own speech. . . . They may overcompensate and assume an excessively formal style."[34] He also points out that some teachers "may have inconsistent or uncertain control over the standard language" and may be unaware of their own speech characteristics.[35] He recommends "that the teacher have a solid grasp of the sounds of her children's language . . . [and an awareness] that their system may be quite different from her own" (1973).

Burling suggests that part of the difficulty lies in the attitude of some teachers. "A teacher who is rigid, one who is contemptuous of the way her children talk, may, consciously or unconsciously, be unwilling to adapt to her children's style. . . ."[37] In Black Like Me, Griffin (1960)[38] noted possible amelioration in the negative attitude toward Afro-Americans by younger generation whites compared to that held by older white people. Such a change in attitude may or may not be reflected in a concomitant amelioration of the opinion that Afro-American English is a substandard variation of Mainstream English.

Labov (1972)[39] indicates that women tend to be the initiators of linguistic changes with a shift towards prestige forms. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) state that the overwhelming majority of teachers of children from [communities where Mainstream English is not the every-day language] feel that part of their duty is to upgrade (as they see it) the nonstandard dialect of their students."[40] No mention has been made in the literature concerning the influence of Afro-American English speaking athletes, primarily males, on the speech of Mainstream English speaking athletes with whom there is close working and playing contact. R. Brown and A. Gilman (1960) noted that the power semantic prescribes usage between superior and inferior status whereas the solidarity semantic refers to persons of roughly equivalent power. They indicate that the solidarity semantic in general pertains to those who share the same goals.[41] With the interest in and participation in sports having been, until recently, male activities, the solidarity semantic relative to acceptance of the speech of the Afro-American English speaking male athlete by the Mainstream English speaking male athlete might apply to areas of activities other than that of athletics;

male teachers might show more acceptance of and comprehension of Afro-American English than might females.

Selinker and Lamendella (1980) note that someone with minimal, nonexistent, or negative motivation to learn will most likely never come to communicate successfully in a target language, "even given a modest degree of incidental learning."[42] The necessity to communicate successfully among members of a basketball or football team might have a peripheral influence on males stronger than that on females, since males have traditionally shown more sympathy toward sports than have females.

K. Johnson (1972), an Afro-American educator-linguist, warns that not many people are aware of the necessity of knowing precisely what to do with certain phonological and grammatical features of Afro-American English and that, as a result, "few people outside the black subculture can speak the nonstandard Negro dialect correctly."[43] Smitherman (1980) states that "linguistically speaking, the greatest differences between contemporary Black and White English are on the level of grammatical structure." She notes that the pronunciation system of Afro-American English employs the same number of sounds as Mainstream English but that these sounds exist in a few different patterns of distribution. The real distinctiveness she attributes to "those features which do not so readily lend themselves to concrete documentation--its speech rhythms, voice inflections, and tonal patterns."[44] Piestrup agrees that special intonation patterns occur in Afro-American English which do not occur in Mainstream English (1973) and that vocabulary differences can intensify the problem of understanding and being understood by Mainstream English speaking teachers.[45]

For those teachers who are aware of how different Afro-American English is from Mainstream English, the realization of how little they really comprehend the speech of Afro-American students can cause them to underestimate their own knowledge of their students' speech. On the other hand, such a realization may counteract a tendency to overestimate their comprehension of Afro-American English, thus making their evaluation of how much Afro-American English they comprehend more accurate. Dillard argues that

> [t]he six or seven-year-old who is trying to read standard English texts--usually taught by a teacher who has no

> idea of how different the student's language really is when it is Negro nonstandard--faces much more of a problem than does the middle-class white child who need only master the print-to-sound decoding system of what is essentially his own dialect.[46]

He compares the young Black student in such a situation to that of a student "trying to learn to read German without ever being told that German is not the same language as English!" (1973).[47] Dillard states that "the [Negro adolescent's] acquisition of standard English (which becomes in effect a second language) is handicapped by a lack of awareness of the dialect difference."[48] Foley advises that if neither the student nor the teacher is aware of what the differences are between Afro-American English and Mainstream English, then "the assumptions of shared knowledge constantly seem to work against the child" (1977).[49]

Chomsky (1972) states that "the problem for the child is . . . that of discovering which of the possible languages he is being exposed to." Further, the "replacement of one expression by another changes meaning, even when the semantic connection between the two is very close" (p. 164). He states that "the theory of learning should try to characterize the particular strategies that a child uses to determine that the language he is facing is one, rather than another. . . ."[50]

One would expect that if a teacher has undergone the frustrations of learning a second language, it might encourage her/him to be more sympathetic to the difficulties encountered by the Afro-American English speaking child in learning Mainstream English, or the more formal Standard English used in textbooks. Conversely, if the teacher's experience in learning a foreign language had been exhilarating and comparatively easy, s/he might make a strong effort to create an exhilarating atmosphere for the learning of the language used in the classroom. Pooley (1980) warns that "[t]hose who are accustomed to rule and authority, to an absolute right and wrong in language, will find great difficulty in making the mental readjustment imperative for a relative rather than an absolute standard of usage."[51]

Hudson's report of studies of linguistic prejudice (1980) indicates

> [t]hat the linguistic prejudices of both teachers and pupils are potential sources of serious problems in the education process. It is by no means clear what can or should be done to

> minimize these problems, but it is hard to see how anything can be achieved unless teachers themselves have a very clear understanding of the nature of linguistic prejudice, and are sensitive to their own prejudices as well as to those of their pupils.[52]

Studies have been made relating to student attitudes toward the language and the culture of the target language, but no studies have been made to date concerning the attitude of the teacher toward the culture as expressed through the language of the students being taught.

Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of this study is that of setting a norm for the speech of many people within a group. As Goodman states (1972), "a point that needs to be clarified is that some imaginary national standard of speech exists which is correct everywhere and always. No dialect of American English ever has achieved this status; instead we have a series of standard regional dialects, the speech of the cultured people of each area."[53] Burling (1973) states that "the language of the educated middle class varies more than many people realize."[54] The same is true of speakers of Afro-American English. Fasold and Wolfram

(1975)[55] note that "Negro dialect . . . is a cohesive linguistic system which . . . is spoken by some, though not all Negroes." Abrahams and Gay point out that terminology for various Afro-American speech forms, such as "shucking," "rapping," etc., "changes constantly, but the verbal strategies they name do not" (1975).[56] All languages change over time and all speakers of a language do not use the same vocabulary or even the same pronunciation or syntax, so that the Afro-American English used in this test would not apply to other areas unless the usage of the expressions were checked for applicability.

Afro-American English is used by individuals of other than African descent. However, only the speech used by Afro-American English speakers of African descent was used.

This study does not purport to examine teacher attitude toward Afro-American English but to assume a correlation between teacher attitude toward the language and teacher comprehension of the message being communicated in terms of what was being said in a specific situation only. Shuy (1975) states that "[a]ttention should be given to problems of the relationship of attitudes to labeling (Black English, ghetto speech, disadvantaged language, nonstandard Negro English, Negro dialect, Texmex, etc.). . . ."[57] Teacher attitude toward the total person as a member of a particular group would have to take more into account than would be within the province of this study.

The teachers studied were considered to be "professionals" in that they were graduate students in a School of Education. The study was limited to testing teachers with some experience and did not test those teachers who will be graduated and in contact with Afro-American English speaking students in the near future.

Definition of Terms

The terms used in this study are:

Afro-American. This is a term used by sociologists, sociolinguists, and linguists since the early 1970s as an outgrowth of the recognition that the term "Negro" was used pejoratively. Various terms have been used, i.e., Black English, Black Dialect, Black Vernacular, but the general movement within Black society to establish ethnic roots, plus the movement to speak of Mexican-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Japanese-Americans, French-Canadians, and British-Canadians as recognizable ethnic groups, the term Afro-American is gaining precedence over other terms.

Afro-American English. The term "sub-standard English" was used previous to World War II but was considered a negative description of a mode of speech accepted as normal by a large portion of the American population. The term "dialect" was used for a time until the early 1960s when various linguists throughout the world brought attention to the systematic differences between various dialects purported to be sub-systems of major "languages," and included so-called "standard English" as another dialect rather than a "pure" form of English. There are several variations of "standard English" such as those spoken in New English (with a separate "standard English" known as "Harvard English"), in the South Atlantic states (known as a "southern accent"), and the English used as the "standard" in radio and television newscasts (known as "Network English").

The term Afro-American English is a specific term designating that language which is used by many, but not all, Americans of African descent as a daily and normal means of oral communication within the Afro-American society. It is recognized by linguists that the term does not describe the language of a large proportion of middle-class and upper-class Afro-Americans, and that, in addition, it is a term which does apply to the language of many Americans of other ethnic groups having close contact with those Afro-Americans who use Afro-American English on a regular and daily basis, i.e., many "Whites," Latinos, and Asiatics.

Mainstream English. This is a broad term used to include the speech of those who constitute the majority of American English speakers using the written language accepted as the norm by middle-class Americans, a class which includes the educated speakers of all ethnic groups within the total American culture. It also includes the oral speech in all its manifestations where such oral speech is considered the norm of the larger portion of American English speakers in the various regions which constitute speech areas in the United States: i.e., Middle-western English, New England speech, the Harvard accent, southern accents, etc.

Language. This is a term used to describe oral speech and any written communication which reflects oral modes of communication. It does not refer to communication in general as reflected in such usages as "body language" (the linguistic term for this is "kinesics"), or "gestural language" ("kinemics") or the commonly used terms "language of love," "language of music," "language of nature," etc.

Grammar. The science of the structure of a language and the rules and principles of its generally accepted use.

Syntax. The study and rules of the relation of words to one another as expressions of ideas and as parts of the structures of sentences; the study and science of sentence construction in accordance with grammatical rules. It is the term which indicates what is often called "grammar" as used by non-linguists. The linguistic term "grammar" encompasses syntax, but is a broader term.

Phoneme. A single speech sound or a group of similar or related speech sounds with a distinctive sound feature.

Phonetic Alphabet. A form of alphabetic writing that reflects the phonemes or sounds of a language without recourse to the usually acknowledged spelling in a language. Whenever a phoneme is represented in this study by a phonetic symbol, the International Phonetic Alphabet is used.

Note: Any special vocabulary or unique use of a term is described or explained within the context or is explained separately as a footnote.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The review of related literature was made around the ethnicity of Afro-American English and the problems created for both teachers and students when this ethnicity is not recognized and the language is not respected as a legitimate ethnic phenomenon.

Legislative Action

Nowhere in the constitution of the United States is there specific mention of what constitutes education of American citizens, and the Supreme Court has not interpreted the Federal Constitution as affording individuals an inherent right to an education (San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodrigues, 1973). The United States Supreme Court has, however, asserted that once a state provides educational opportunities and makes schooling compulsory, students have a right to expect educational benefits to accrue (McCarthy).[58]

Courts are assessing student classification practices as well as the suitability of instructional programs and are requiring schools to produce evidence that they have attempted to meet the needs of special classes of students.

Reuter and Hamilton, in The 1979 Supplement to the Law of Public Education, state:

> Children who have been . . . educationally and culturally set apart from the larger community will inevitably acquire habits of speech, conduct, and attitudes reflecting their cultural isolation. They are likely to acquire speech habits, for example, which vary from the environment in which they must ultimately function and compete, if they are to enter and be a part of that community.[59]

Since 1968, when Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act, millions of children have attended classrooms where their mother tongue was used as the language of instruction, with transfer to classrooms conducted in Mainstream English as students were moved to higher grades, usually those grades in the elementary school. Bilingual education is now a federally enforceable right for children whose native language is Spanish, Russian, German, etc.

In Milliken v. Bradley (NAACP v. Lansing Board of Education, 1977)[60] the Supreme Court directed the Detroit Board of Education to formulate a comprehensive in-service teacher and administrator program

> to cope with the desegregation processes . . . to ensure that all students in a desegregated system would be treated equally by teachers and administrators able, by virtue of special training, to cope with special problems presented by desegregation, and thereby facilitate . . . conversion to a unitary system.[61]

This, according to The Law of Public Education (Reuter and Hamilton, 1979), was the first time the Supreme Court had, in a formal opinion, considered remedies other than pupil or teacher reassignments in order to correct the effects of de jure segregation.[62]

The decision as to the language used as the medium of instruction is made in some legislative fashion, either explicitly stated in the constitution of a country, or implicitly by virtue of common law as set by precedent.

> The nation, or some part of the nation, has to decide what language it wants to use in its educational system and what the relation of that language and the language of the students shall be (Ferguson, 1964).[63]

However, what language we speak as our mother tongue is not up to the individual, nor can it be legislated in a democracy; the circumstances under which we are reared control the learning of the first language a child learns--the mother tongue.

Afro-American English as a Second Language

The question as to what is the role of Mainstream English in a school system where the students are speakers of some other language, such as Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, or an American Indian language, has been decided, either by custom or by law, i.e., the language of instruction is "Standard English" in the Houston Independent School District except where bilingual programs are required. However, questions revolving around the situation concerning the teaching of children who speak a form of American English which is radically different from that which is used as the language in the schools has just begun to be addressed and has not yet been clarified. In some areas it has not even been considered. The question remains of what to do about the language situation relative to those individuals, including racial groups other than Afro-Americans, who speak a form of American English variously called substandard Black English, Negro Dialect, Black Dialect, Black Vernacular, Black Language, Ebonics, 'Merican, or Afro-American English. As Fasold and Wolfram point out (1975), "[u]nfortunately, there is no consensus about an adequate label for this variety of English. . . ."[64]

Linguists and sociolinguists agree that the language of Afro-Americans (and of those of other ethnic groups in close contact with Afro-Americans) is distinct from the so-called white nonstandard English. Stewart states that "the scholars who are talking about Black English are working against . . . an incredible hostility and resistance from the general public . . ." both white and Black.[65] Afro-Americans are not in agreement as to the term applied to their ethnic group, but they all agree that "Negro" is repugnant to them, and prefer the terms "Black" or "Afro-American." Banks (1979) uses the term Afro-American;[66] and Ossie Davis, the actor, states "there is a trememdous fight among the Negro people to stop using the word "Negro" altogether and substitute "Afro-American" (1973).[67] Dillard makes an important point in noting that "the dividing line between 'language' and 'dialect' is not an absolute one . . ." (1975).[68] Grayson (1977) maintains that the word "language" is imprecise since it is usually thought of as having geographical boundaries.[69] Afro-Americans, while occupying no specific areas in the United States, have, according to Abrahams (1976), "a total configuration of traits . . . ineluctably Afro-American" and form "an essentially homogeneous speech community."[70]

Since the language spoken in The United States is American English, the language spoken by those of Afro-American descent who have not learned Mainstream English as their mother tongue is herein called Afro-American English to distinguish it from Afro-American Spanish, for example, or Jamaican English. Labov (1972) speaks of Afro-American English as

> a consistent caste dialect, relatively constant for speakers from 6 to 20 years old, with remarkable geographic uniformity and resistance to standard English importations in the school system. Speakers in Boston, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans, St. Louis, Houston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles show these grammatical patterns with startling regularity.[71]

Friedman has pointed out that instead of having a true Standard English based primarily on the form used in writing by educated people, Americans have now regional standards which are largely determined by social, economic, and political power, and that power has traditionally resided in the hands of white society, which was superficially considered to be homogeneous. Portions of other ethnic/racial groups have joined the power structure and use the speech norms, as well as the written norms, of the mainstream population. The term Standard English has given way to such terms as Network English and Mainstream English. One reason that the term "Standard English" is used less frequently than it has been in the past may be, as Shuy states, that Standard English is difficult to define (1975).[72] Friedman states that the standard is now that of the mainstream of society and is no longer dictated by professional writers. It is the norm of the powerful group in control of the schools which many Afro-Americans wish to attain in order to be able to control their own destiny, and to take part in the total society (1975).[73]

Despite regional standards of Mainstream English, the speaker of Afro-American English usually attends school in areas where Mainstream English is actually used, but where the more prescriptive Standard English has been the norm striven for by those within the school system. Exposure to the school system can be a negative experience for many minority students since it can set up conditions for numerous feedback loops to operate (J. Johnson, 1977).[74] Gay notes that

> [m]any ethnic students do not share the frames of reference, orientations, and expectations which dominate school activities. . . . The syntax, lexicon, and linguistic styles of textbooks and teachers often fall outside the conceptual and perceptual codes of the home languages of some ethnic groups. Too often "school language" is culturally bound to white middle class Anglo-Saxon experiences. Some ethnically different students are placed in double jeopardy. They have to first translate the "classroom language" into their own respective communication codes before they can begin to address themselves to the intellectual tasks required by the curriculum content. (1977)[75]

Imhoof (1971) alleges that the child who speaks a form of English other than that used in formal schooling faces two major difficulties related to language: first, the child must learn to interpret speech patterns and a written language that differ significantly from the patterns learned previous to classroom attendance; and, second, the child faces the extremely important difficulty of having to protect her/his self-esteem from "well-meant but dangerously threatening opposition to his normal linguistic patterns," in which her/his personality is deeply rooted, "by teachers who cannot or will not change their modes of teaching."[76]

The language used in the classroom is too often received passively with the teacher doing most of the talking and the students answering in monosyllables (Bailey, 1973).[77] A passive knowledge of Mainstream English is also gained, to a limited degree, through watching television, but there are, according to Bailey a number of concepts which do not lend themselves to visual illustration, such as the _either/or_ relation. In addition, there are grammatical features of Afro-American English which the child must learn at a very early age which persist long past high school and which seem least amenable to correction in later school life.[78]

McLuhan (1964) remarked on dialectal speech, since the advent of T.V., having been found to provide a social bond not possible with the artificial "standard English" promoted in the classroom. It is true that much of the language used on television is not "standard," nor is it Mainstream English (spoken standard English).[79] Burling (1973) states that

> the nonstandard-speaking child hears ample standard English on radio and television, and he may learn to understand it . . . but the differences between his own and the standard dialect are far more subtle than either he or his teacher is likely to realize.[80]

Mainstream English speaking teachers usually use their own language so that Afro-American English speaking students must translate from one language form to another. Baratz (1972) states that Mainstream English speaking students employing the same language as their teachers need to perform fewer intellectual maneuvers than do those students whose mother tongue is not Mainstream English. She maintains that the Afro-American English speaker must translate the message into her/his own language and place the message into the cultural world view which inheres in that language as different from the Mainstream view. In addition, s/he is exposed to the possibility of requiring more time to understand the message, with the added possibility that in the translation process some meaning may have been changed.[81]

Language as a Reflection of Culture

Language does not function in a vacuum but is intimately tied to the total knowledge system of an individual, with different cultural experiences leading to different principles of language usage and cognitive functioning (Hall and Freedle, 1975).[82] Labov (1966) claimed that language is an expression of life style, quite distinct from the pattern of values, affiliations, and interactions which define social and ethnic classes, but on the same level as those other characteristics of life style.[83] Gay and Abrahams state:

> [A] full pattern of how Black culture operates remains to be described; yet we do know that Blacks exist in a cultural world which is sufficiently distinct in most realms of life that it is more useful to regard it as a separate culture instead of a sub-culture. . . . The difficulty in understanding Black cultural characteristics is compounded by their surface similarities to mainstream norms and values. . . . (1973)[84]

Moulton (1970) states that no two languages structure the world of reality in the same way, so their denotative meanings must be different. Since no two languages have the same grammar, their grammatical meanings must also be different. And since the speakers of different languages have had different linguistic and nonlinguistic life experiences, the connotative meanings must be different. In order to learn a language, therefore, the student must learn how to decode the speech of the teacher phonologically, grammatically, and semantically. In order to use it correctly, the student must, in addition, learn how to encode it phonologically, grammatically, and semantically.[85] Comrie (1981) states that a simple transference of a syntactic model "that handles English syntax reasonably well often simply produces a distortion of the syntactic nature of . . . other languages."[86]

West (1975) states that "ambiguity is always a problem in clear communication, and context is often the key to meaning."[87] The message intended is often not the message received.

Swick (1974) maintains that "[t]he most vital principle underlying all of communication is the axiom that Meaning is in the Receiver--Not in the Message or the Medium!!!!"[88] The receiver, out of his own domain of reference, determines the meaning of the message and assigns values to it. There has been communication, but only the receiver is aware of what has been communicated. For interaction to be complete, Porter (1969) specifies that a feedback system must be in operation.[89] This could be a physical reaction, such as following directions, or it could be a smile or a glare; it could be a blank expression. In the case of an Afro-American, the interpretation of what that blank expression might mean would depend upon the teacher's awareness of what a blank expression could mean in the culture of the Afro-American. K. Johnson (1975) states that "[o]ften, white teachers (who are in an authority role and who have contact with Black children) will miss the message communicated by Black children. . . ." Unless the teacher "knows where the student is coming from," miscommunication can result.[90]

In addition, Rubin (1974) points out that unless a student has "in his hearing capacity" the vocabulary of the subject s/he is studying, s/he will not be able to decode the words s/he is reading nor the words the teacher uses in class. The words, according to Rubin, "will be mere noise to the students."[91] Barta (1973) raises the question of whether or not "lack of interest in school and excessive nonattendance could actually be promoted by the educators in their lust for a 'virgin' dialect composed purely of standard English elements," and maintains that "sufficient evidence has been brought to light to make it apparent that this is a contributing factor, a factor," he suggests "that deserves more concern than has been awarded it in the past."[92]

Dillard (1975) notes that "[e]ven those who see [only] slight differences between Black English and the school dialect . . . have pointed out how the discomfort of operating in their second-most-effective language system may impose unfair handicaps on Black English-speaking children."[93] Leaverton suggests that "[t]he traditional approaches to reading and oral language programs . . . have not considered the possible negative effect that constant criticism of the child's nonstandard speech patterns can have on the interaction between teacher and child and on the ultimate learning experience" (1975).[94] Jaggar (1974) maintains that "[t]he teacher's attitude is all important. . . . The teacher must recognize that the child is a competent user of language, even if his speech differs radically from traditional norms, and the black child's language must be accepted as it is." She states that success is affected by the teacher's attitudes toward the children and their language and by her/his knowledge of the structural differences between the children's language and standard English.[95]

Linguistic Theory and Afro-American English

It should be repeated that Black English or, as it is called in this study, Afro-American English, is not spoken by all Blacks or Afro-Americans.[96] Not all whites speak Mainstream English. Some Afro-Americans speak Mainstream English and some whites speak Afro-American English. It should also be repeated that there are different varieties of Mainstream English and that there are different varieties of Afro-American English. These are general terms which apply to general languages and to general cultural groups.

Many Afro-Americans belong to the cultural group known as Mainstream and belong, at the same time, to portions of the Afro-American culture. The reverse is true of whites, many belonging to the classes which speak Afro-American English and who belong, in addition, to different portions of the white culture. It is, however, convenient to discuss languages in group terms since language is spoken not by one individual but by many. Otherwise, it is not classifiable as a major language. Dillard's estimate of 80% of all Afro-Americans speaking "black English" in 1967 is usually given as the approximate number of Afro-American English speakers in the United States, a figure which is an estimate only.[97] That figure may be less in 1984, since the desegregation of schools and with open admissions at many universities, but the estimate may still be applicable. The 1980 census places the figure of Afro-Americans in the United States at 11.9%,[98] and it must be remembered that all Afro-Americans do not speak Afro-American English. However, there are thousands of individuals who speak the language or a dialect of Afro-American English through inter-marriage or through neighborhood contact, as indicated in Wolfram's _Sociolinguistic Aspects of Assimilation: Puerto Rican English in New York City_ (1974).[99]

Brasch explains the two theories held by linguists concerning Afro-American English in his _Black English and the Mass Media_ (1981).[100] The so-called Deficit Theory, with its connotation of Afro-American English being a sub-standard variety of Standard English, is often, as Brasch notes, advanced by educators, social scientists, and journalists. He states unequivocally that the Deficit Theory is not a linguistic theory of language and it is not based upon linguistic data. The two theories which are acceptable to linguists are the _creolist_ and _dialect_ theories based upon detailed analysis of Afro-American English.

The term "dialect" is preferred by some linguists since the term "language" is too non-specific to apply only to verbal communication. However, other suggestions, such as "sociolect" and "Ebonics" have not been accepted as completely as have the terms "dialect" and "language" (Wolfram, 1972; Covington, 1976).[101] Stewart states that he does not like the term "Black English"[102] and Houston remarks in her discussion with Stewart (1975, p. 26),

> [O]ne of the things about Black English research is that we're all very unhappy with each other's terminology and this is sort of standard operating procedure. I am extremely unhappy with Nonstandard and Negro dialect, all three words of which I consider to be either wrong or misguided. It's not nonstandard and it's better to say "black" rather than "Negro," and it's not a dialect, it's something else. It has dialects: it isn't a dialect. (1975)[103]

No final decision has been made concerning the name of the language spoken by approximately one fifth of the population of the United States, nor has the origin of the language yet been proven. The dialect theory claims that the syntax of Afro-American English and of Mainstream English is different in their deep structures as construed by the theory of deep and surface structure presented by Chomsky. The creolist theory maintains that the origins of Afro-American English are probably through a Pidgin English developed in Africa in the early days of international trade as well as during the period of heavy slave trading (Luelsdorff, 1975).[104]

Teacher Recognition of Afro-American English

It is important that messages between participants in the learning process send, receive, and interpret messages in a maximally communicative manner. Chomsky states that different speakers "of the same language, with somewhat different experience and training, nevertheless acquire grammars that are remarkably similar as we can determine from the ease with which they communicate and the correspondences among them in the interpretation of new sentences" (1972). Also, "a speaker of the language . . . will perceive, interpret, form, or use an utterance in certain ways and not in other ways."[105] Bentley and Crawford (1973) maintain that "[i]n America, we have not done a very good job of communicating with each other," and

> [f]urther, the inability to perceive children generally (and speaking of "nonstandard" dialects particularly) as linguistically competent is translated into teaching practices which we contend are damaging and counter productive. A teacher may be able to accept a child while

> rejecting his language, but is the child capable of making that distinction--or does he simply feel rejected?[106]

The student has been expected to learn the language of the classroom, but this learning may be only at the reception level, not the production level. "A passive knowledge of standard English is the minimum goal a teacher of standard English can set for her students," according to Arthur (1973), ". . . because a passive mastery of standard English is extremely important to functioning in a school situation where that dialect is the medium of instruction. . . ." However,

> [p]assive dialect mastery can be as important for teachers as it is for students; the teacher of nonstandard English speakers may at first have difficulty understanding their dialect. Thus, since acquiring a passive knowledge of the students' dialect is a prerequisite for productive two-way verbal communication between teacher and child, teachers should open themselves to the same kinds of experiences with their students' nonstandard dialect. . . . The teacher who accuses his students of not speaking clearly is frequently blaming them for his own inability to understand their dialect. . . .[107]

Labov (1975) notes that the study of language in its social context can only be done when the language is "known" in the sense that the listener can understand rapid conversation.[108] This facility is expected of all children whether their mother tongue is used in the classroom or is a different language or dialect. The child is placed in an unfortunate situation. The teacher can learn to communicate with the students whose mother tongue is different from her/his own and can, at the same time, make school more acceptable to many students who are potential drop-outs. Spolsky states that "[w]ithout communication between teachers and pupils, there is little chance of effective education" (1972).[109]

There is no textbook for teaching Afro-American English: Beginning - Book 1; Intermediate - Book 2, etc. This was done for English for the first time, for French for the first time, for Portuguese for the first time; and it will be done for Afro-American English for the first time. Until such publication, the teacher will have to rely on publications by Labov, Stewart, Fasold, Wolfram, Burlings, and all the others for information concerning what their students are saying and how they themselves must speak in order to be able to teach Mainstream English to Afro-American English speakers.

The book, Linguistic Perspectives on Black

English, the record of conference proceedings of the First Wisconsin Symposium on Linguistic Perspectives on Black English held in 1968, has been used on an experimental basis in a special Afro-American English section of Freshman English at the University of Wisconsin in 1969-70. Luelsdorff, the editor, recommends that it be used, with slight modification, to teach Mainstream English speaking teachers about Afro-American English.[110] According to Henry M. Mitchell, many of the Black theological seminaries have courses in Black English to help the Standard English speaker communicate with his congregation (1970).[111] Records and tapes of Afro-American speech have been made but are not available to teachers as of this date. Reading books have been made by Baratz, Stewart, and others, but are no longer available. There are dictionaries of Afro-American English available in libraries, and Kochman has written on Afro-American culture. However, as Loflin pointed out in the 1970s, until a description of Afro-American English is written which can be proven by being available for being disproved, a grammar of Afro-American English cannot be written systematically (1975).[112]

A study by Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1967)[113] shows more language shifting among women than men, with the shift toward more prestige forms. Labov (1966)[114] showed that women used fewer stigmatized forms than men and were more sensitive to prestigious patterns than were men; and Flexner (1980)[115] believes men use more flexible English than do women, maintaining the reasons to be that "[m]en belong to more sub-groups than do women; men create and use occupational cant and jargon; in business, men have acquaintances who belong to many different sub-groups. Women, on the other hand, still tend to be restricted to family and neighborhood friends. Women have very little of their own slang." Trudgill (1971) found that in Norwich, England, women were more influenced by standard forms than were men and that men were more influenced by new vernacular forms of casual speech.[116] This would presume a tendency for women to be more conservative in their speech and at the same time more desirous of being accepted in the mainstream or dominant culture, and a tendency for men to be more relaxed in their speech and more desirous of being accepted by their peers as being aware of the latest language "fad."

Sledd (1972)[117] portrays the public school teacher as a narrow-minded prescriptivist of "good manners" in speech. Fasold tells of a teacher working with Afro-American English speaking children who would greet an utterance

> of a distinctively Black English sentence by the children with the remark, "Now say it in English." The remark was invariably met with bewildered silence. The point is that the youngsters did not know the "English" she was referring to and she assumed they did. (1969)[118]

If the teacher recognizes that Mainstream English and Afro-American English are two languages, s/he must also recognize that the child may not.

Stoller asserts that "most Americans would probably insist that they speak standard English (SE), despite the fact that they have some speech features which deviate from 'broadcast standard'" (1975).[119] Labov (1966) found that New Yorkers combined "an extraordinarily keen perception of the speech of others with a completely unrealistic view of their own speech," and states that "[t]he tendency to claim the standard for one's own usage . . . is very strong."[120] Ferguson (1972) states that self-deception on the speech used by an individual who speaks a dialect considered to be of lower prestige than another dialect in the same language is extremely common.[121] If the teacher reacts to Afro-American English in a negative manner, implying that it is inferior,

> [t]he black child fears the teacher who is ignorant of his culture and mores, and does not understand or respect him. He finds mute silence the only protection left open to him. . . . Black children are sensitive to the implied criticism of their language and soon may subside to silence as the best way to survive in the non-accepting, frequently hostile classroom atmosphere. (Cato, 1975)[122]

The results of such criticism tend to carry over into all areas of classroom learning and on into adult life.

Kernan (1971) noted that speakers of Afro-American English are often insecure in situations they define as calling for Mainstream English and often suspect their own command of Mainstream English. She states that when with non-Blacks, this insecurity may cause Blacks to be reluctant to speak--a kind of linguistic insecurity familiar to many working-class Afro-Americans. Kernan states what has been repeated in various forms by educators who are interested in linguistics and by linguists interested in education: "The most commonly occurring linguistic insecurity stems from cognizance that BE is a low-prestige code."[123]

Fickett (1975) also noted that almost every Afro-American English speaker is as anxious to conceal the existence of her/his first language from her/himself as s/he is from teachers and other speakers of the prestige language, Mainstream English. Under pressure within the class and within Mainstream society in general, "the student attains an inability to acknowledge his actual speech as existing in reality."[124] Sociolinguists have stressed that the implications in education are of major importance. They have noted that the meanings which a speaker of Afro-American English intends to convey cannot be, in Fickett's term, "evoked"[125] in a wider cultural milieu which does not understand Afro-American English.

Gumperz (1972) states that "individuals are accepted as members of the group to the extent that their usage conforms to the practices of the day." He maintains that

> [t]he conflict in language loyalty may even affect mutual intelligibility, as when speakers' claims that they do not understand each other reflect primarily social attitudes rather than linguistic fact.[126]

K. Johnson maintains that "the communication difficulty is caused by the inability of dominant cultural members to understand nonstandard dialects. Not recognizing interference has prevented teachers from dealing with points of interference between Afro-American English and Mainstream English in systematic ways (1971).[127] Whether that interference is linguistic, political, or social, it is generally recognized that there is, indeed, interference in communication in the classroom.

The Afro-American English Speaking Student in the Classroom

Under unilingual conditions, the child uses her/ his cognitive processes to make sense of the language of instruction on the basis of past experiences of speech and other factors relating to cultural life-styles, complicating the situation for both the student and the teacher. In learning mathematics, the concepts are likely to be the same in both Afro-American English and in Mainstream English, but the language in which those concepts are explained may present a mismatch between the mother tongue and the language of instruction. However, in the study of language itself there is an additional problem in that the metalinguistic description of language used by the teacher may be meaningless in the child's own experience. In reading instruction, the teacher may refer to phonemes or syntactic constructions in the language being taught which do not correspond to what the student recognizes as part of her/his own tongue (Downing, 1978).[128]

Piestrup (1973) and Paznik (1978) have produced studies of teaching techniques which are valuable sources of information for teaching Afro-American English speaking students, not only in the so-called "language arts" but in relation to the total activity within the classroom.[129]

Fasold and Wolfram (1975) have published numerous excellent articles on characteristics of Afro-American English, with specific explanations in non-technical language for the benefit of teachers who are not trained in the formal language of linguistics.[130] Fickett's study (1975) is excellent for the teacher with some training in the language and terms used in the field of linguistics.[131]

David Claerbaut's Black Jargon in White America (1972) includes an interesting dictionary of

Afro-American words and expressions pertinent to the teacher's need to understand the more casual language of students when not using the more formal language required in the classroom.[132] David Dalby (1972) has listed African derived words commonly used in Afro-American speech, many of which have been adopted by Mainstream English speakers, some as slang ("I hear you talkin,'" i.e., "I understand" translated from Mandingo; "hep" i.e., well-informed"), and some as words used in Mainstream English in certain areas ("tote," i.e., "carry") or as words used in formal writing ("zombie," i.e., "raised corpse").[133]

Additional insight into the communication system surrounding oral language, not discussed in this study but peripheral to it and of interest to the teacher wishing to understand the total communication act of Afro-American students, can be obtained from reading Kenneth Johnson's "Black Kinesics" in Perspectives on Black English (1975)[134] and Claudia Mitchell Kernan's study of Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community of 1971, published in 1974.[135]

As Brasch and Brasch (1974) state, "One of the richest sources of primary information about Black language is newspapers . . . edited by or for

Blacks."[136] A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of American Black English which they have prepared is an invaluable guide. Research since 1974 has continued. Another excellent source is through ERIC and through looking at abstracts of dissertations in DAI (Dissertation Abstracts International). All areas of communication--anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics, comparative education, etc.--can be searched for information relative to the comprehension of Afro-American English and the culture of Afro-American English speakers.

Kochman is an excellent source for information concerning cultural differences relative to the modes of communicating used by Afro-American English speakers (1972 and 1981).[137] Williams warns that

> [f]ailure to interpret correctly the cultural signals of members of other groups always has an adverse (and at times disastrous) effect on attempts at cross-cultural communication . . . The subtle ways in which black people communicate with each other, unperceived by the outsider--or, if perceived, likely to be misinterpreted--are nevertheless the cues that make for effective communication. (A. P. Williams, 1972)[138]

There still exists, according to Kochman (1981) "a social etiquette that considers it impolite to discuss minority-group differences in public . . .

Some [minority groups] even went so far as to deny that they existed."[139]

In the National Invitational Symposium on the King Decision Report (1981), a Report on Current State of Knowledge, states, in Judge Charles W. Joiner's order,

> [t]he evidence suggests clearly that no matter how well intentioned the teachers are, they are not likely to be successful in overcoming the language barrier caused by their failure to take into account the home language system, unless they are helped . . . to recognize the existence of the language system used by the children in their home community and to use that knowledge as a way of helping the children to learn. . . ."[140]

Principle Points of Divergence Between Afro-American English and Mainstream English

K. Goodman (1979) includes in his points of divergence: intonation, phonemes, suffices, and vocabulary.[141] Other researchers have included stress, rhythm, and syntactic differences. Goodman also mentions the different grammatical areas in Afro-American English, including predictability and redundancy.

Daniel, Hines, Rose, and Walker (1974) observed that suprasegmentals* of language often play a more significant role in conveying messages in Afro-American English than they do in Mainstream English. However, as they remark, very little work has been done on the suprasegmentals of Afro-American English.[142]

Labov (1972)[143] notes the rising intonation of an Afro-American child's answer to a question, indicating the desire for approbation and confirmation from the teacher even though the child obviously knew the answer:

^{2} a space ^{2}shi ip^{3}

This intonation pattern is used when children are talking with other Black children who are in some sort of superior position. This can be noted if the transcriptions of Afro-American English, which Loman made in 1967,[144] are studied. The studies are, as is customary for non-linguistic transcriptions, in Arabic alphabet with semi-linguistic notations. Loman's study also indicates a different stress pattern in that more words are stressed than is customary for Mainstream English. What is considered important enough to stress is different from the Mainstream English pattern, if "importance" and "stress" are, in Afro-American English, united in the same manner as they are in Mainstream English.

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*Suprasegmentals are those characteristics of speech other than the vowels and consonant sounds, and include breath, intonation, accent, stress, rhythm, falsetto, elongation of vowels, etc.

```
          3             3             3
      2      2             2             2
GJ   see wé have| (p)  we háve#  (p) we hàve|  (p)

      3          3        3
     trée| (p)  firs' gràder#  (p)

      3      3        3      3   3
     trée|  firs'|  gráde|  téachers# (p)

          3        3        3    3            3   3
     2       2
     an' wè have twó| (p) twó|  sécon' gràde téachers#(p)

      3       3        3
         2                    2            2
     wè ha' twó| (p)  fóurf gràde tèachers an'|

       3   3
                 2        2
     twó thír' gràde tèachers#  (p)

           3     3
     2              2            2
     an'| twó|  kínnygarden tèachers#| (p)

            4               4
      2        2              2    2
AJ   well  Térry nòt in de kínnygarden|
```

4
2 2 3
hé's in firs gráde àin' 'e# (p)
3 3 2 3 3 3
he gót de sáme tèacher dís yèar|
3 3 3
dàt he hà' lás' yèar# (p)

Note: GJ and AJ are two different speakers.

(Loman, p. 111)

The level of intonation is indicated by the numbers. A low tone is 1 and a high tone would be 4. The large number of 3s and the two 4s make the Afro-American English speaking child sound much more excited than the Mainstream English speaking child would sound saying the same things under the same conditions. In reading this aloud, it is difficult for the Mainstream English speaker to read it correctly relative to the intonation. Combined with the different stress pattern, it is extremely difficult for the Mainstream English speaker to duplicate.

The strongest stress is indicated by ´; the second strongest by `; the straight line | is a juncture or small pause. The longer pause is indicated by (p). The ʔ is a glottal stop, or short pause with a slight puff of air between the two consonants "n" and "n" in "prinʔn" for "printing." Termination of each sentence is indicated by #; and no capital letters are used to indicate the beginning of sentences.

The intonation pattern changes with peers into a statement, varying as to what is expected in the answer. A high tone, yet with a down-glide from 4 to 3, indicates that a question is wanted in reply. A less high tone, with a down-glide from 3 to 2, indicates a Yes/No answer is expected. A command question is from 4 to 1, and the answer is No.

1. $\overset{4}{\text{you}}\ \overset{4}{\text{knów}}\ \text{what I}\ \overset{3}{\text{dó}}\ \text{when}\ \overset{4}{\text{I}}\ \overset{4}{\text{há'}}\ \text{a}\ \overset{3\ 3}{\text{cráyon}}$

(Loman, p. 48)

2. $\overset{3}{\text{we}}\ \overset{2}{\text{gonna}}\ \text{do any}\ \overset{3}{\text{prinʔ}}\overset{2}{\text{n'}}$

(Loman, p. 51)

3. $\overset{4}{\text{yóu}}\ \overset{2}{\text{gotta}}\ \text{màke a}\ \overset{3}{\text{ró'}}\ \overset{2}{\text{bòok}}\ \overset{3}{\text{dón't}}\ \overset{2}{\text{you}}$

(Loman, p. 50)

4. $\overset{4}{\text{Whé'}}\ \overset{3}{\text{you}}\ \overset{2}{\text{gó}}\ \overset{1}{\text{in'}}$ (Answer: silence and stopped action or "Nowhere.")

A question using the same words but indicating a request for information or indicating an interest in the other person remains at the high level, gliding from 4 to 3, not from 4 to 1.

Whereas Mainstream English is usually rendered in levels from 3 to 1, with normal statements 2-3-1, Afro-American English uses a much higher tone, and ranges from 4 to 2 as well as from 4 to 1, and generally with more rising and falling within the sentence than in Mainstream English.

The transcriptions do not show fine points of important features of Afro-American English: no length of vowels is shown nor is the falsetto often used by Afro-Americans available in any transcribed form from research. There is no research, as yet published, on the speed of production of speech by Afro-American children. It has been proposed by many linguists that language as a total communication process be investigated, and there is movement in that direction.

Sociolinguistic Attitudes

Berl Loftman Bailey, in the middle of the 1960s, suggested that

> [t]he Southern Negro 'dialect' differs from other Southern speech because its deep structure is different, having its origins as it undoubtedly does in some Proto-Creole grammatical structure. Hence, regardless of surface resemblances to other dialects of English . . . we must look into the system itself for an explanation of seeming confusion of persons and tenses. (1965)[145]

The study of Afro-American English has advanced tremendously, as Stewart pointed out in 1975, ten years after Bailey's pronouncement:

> One of the things we got when we tried to approach the black public school officials on this (whether Black children were primarily dialect speakers or Standard English speakers) was denial of the dialect, but now it's no longer fashionable to deny the dialect.[146]

In the 1980s, the suggestion made in bitter wrath by Sledd in the early 1970s, was that

> [w]e are past the stage when white teachers, whether Africans or Caucasians, can think well of themselves for trying to turn black people into uneasy imitations of the whites. . . . It would make better sense, if pedagogues insist on living in a fantasy world, to require whites to speak black English in their dealings with blacks, since the whites have more advantages than the blacks and consider themselves more intelligent. . . . (1972)[147]

Goodman (1980) maintains that the problem with Afro-American English speakers is not their inability to comprehend what is being said in class, but rather the way their language is treated. He states that "it is important that the accumulated knowledge on Black Dialect be imparted to teachers." However, he continues:

> In order to do the kind of implementation we want (in educating Afro-American English speaking students), in order to really make a difference, we have to deal with language, and cultural contexts. We have to understand that values, experiences, personal and social objectives are all tangled up. The way we talk--as James Baldwin has said--isn't just the grammar, it isn't just the phonology--it's a life experience."[148]

The examples used in this research were taken from real life situations. Afro-American English speakers spoke the language inserts to be translated. Three teams made up of one Mainstream English Speaker and one Afro-American English speaker on each team judged the translations made by Mainstream English speakers. Afro-American English as it is used in life situations was not "pure" Afro-American English, and the translations were not "pure" Standard English, because there is not, in actual living conditions, a "pure" form of language. The speech used, both as examples and as translations, was judged as language is used in society, i.e., from a sociolinguistic viewpoint.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

In order to test the eight hypotheses concerning personal characteristics relative to comprehension of Afro-American English, a separate instrument from the question/situation instrument was administered. Linguistic analysis was employed to obtain data relative to actual translations made in Mainstream English of the Afro-American English used in the question/situation instrument.

Subjects were limited to graduate students in the School of Education at the University of Houston to whom the two instruments were administered. The procedures used for administering the instruments and the procedures by which scores for each subject are explained in detail. Tabulation of individual raters, teams, and per cent scores were obtained, as explained under scoring procedures and rater reliability.

Logical nomenclature was used for each hypothesis to be tested, i.e., age is used for age; sex is used for sex; grammar courses is used for the amount of grammar studies, etc.

The focus of this study was on the comprehension of fifty Afro-American English utterances as spoken by individuals of school age by teachers of experience whose mother tongue was Mainstream English. The purposes of the study were:

1. To determine the degree of comprehension of Afro-American English by speakers whose mother tongue was Mainstream English;

2. To determine the function of sex, age, linguistic and/or grammar courses taken, years of formal schooling, knowledge of other languages, years of teaching experience, and experience teaching Afro-American English speaking students relative to teachers' comprehension of Afro-American English.

3. To determine the degree of accuracy with which teachers are able to evaluate their own comprehension of Afro-American English; and

4. To identify interpretation discrepancies made by the subjects in linguistic categories, i.e., phonolcgical, lexical, syntactic, and semantic.

Design of the Study

Two major questions are addressed in this study:

1. To determine the relationships between Afro-American English and Mainstream English as they are affected by attitude, self-evaluation of comprehension of Afro-American English, number of years teaching Afro-American English speaking students, number of linguistic courses taken, number of English grammar courses taken, number of foreign languages understood, age, and sex; and

2. To identify phonetic, lexical, syntactic, and semantic differences as manifested between Mainstream English speaking teachers' interpretations of Afro-American English and interpretations judged as adequate or correct.

Statistical Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested:

H_1 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their attitudes toward Afro-American English.

H_2 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the degree of accuracy with which teachers evaluate their own comprehension of Afro-American English.

H_3 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of years teaching Afro-American English speaking students.

H_4 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of linguistic courses they have taken.

H_5 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of grammar courses they have taken.

H_6 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of foreign languages understood or spoken.

H_7 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their age group.

H_8 There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their sex.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test was chosen for Hypotheses Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 to discover if the comprehension of Afro-American English varies as a function of attitude toward Afro-American English, self-perceived accuracy of comprehension of Afro-American English, length of time of teaching Afro-American English speakers, number of linguistics courses taken, and the number of grammar courses taken.

The Mann-Whitney U-test was used to determine whether or not Hypotheses numbers 6, 7, and 8 vary as a function of number of languages known other than English, age, and sex.

Analyses of Interpretation Discrepancies

Interpretations of discrepancies were made based upon phonological variants not applicable in both Afro-American English and Mainstream English, such as apocope, phonemic clusters, allophonic variants, echthlipsis, fusions, and metaplasms in relation to phonology; heterophemy, syllepsis, and semantic contagion in relation to lexical items; relational word variants, deictic elements, and verbal aspects in syntax; semantic extensions and different value systems in relation to meanings of expressions.

Instrumentation

Two instruments were designed to elicit data. A complete description of the collection and the pilot testing of the materials used in the TCOAD (Test of Comprehension of Afro-American Dialect: suggested pronunciation: T-Code) appears in Appendix A.

Information pertaining to subjects' comprehension of Afro-American English was obtained through an instrument which included fifty samples of Afro-American English imbedded in situations relating to school activities. The situations were derived from actual conversations, and commonly used expressions reflecting Afro-American English speech characteristics were extracted and adapted by speakers of Afro-American English in situations reflecting normal school conditions.

The situations were taped according to the following format:

The context was given in Mainstream English by the researcher followed by an Afro-American English expression made by an Afro-American English speaker. The Afro-American English expression was the final statement heard by the subjects before responding. (See Appendix B.)

Information in relation to all other variables in the study was obtained in a questionnaire which included age; sex; ethnic group in which the subject was a member; degrees of education attained; languages other than the mother tongue understood and to what degree; if any Afro-American English was known, how much self-evaluation of knowledge of Afro-American English; number of grammar and linguistics courses taken; years of teaching and number of years and the areas of teaching; and the number of years teaching Afro-American English speaking students with the approximate percentage of Afro-American English speaking students in classes taught. (See Appendix B.)

Subjects

The subjects were graduate students in the College of Education at The University of Houston, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Houston, Texas, attending classes during the summer of 1983. All were native speakers of Mainstream English. All speakers who indicated English as a language understood or spoken other than the mother tongue, were deleted as subjects for the study.

All students who indicated Afro-American racial ethnicity were deleted as subjects for the study. Whereas many university students of Afro-American descent learned Mainstream English as their mother tongue, the possibility of their having learned Afro-American English as their mother tongue precluded their being included in the study as there was no way to identify those who had learned Afro-American English rather than Mainstream English as the mother tongue.

Subjects who designated Spanish as the mother tongue were also deleted from the study. Those subjects who claimed Latin ethnicity but declared Mainstream English as their mother tongue were included. There were no other individuals from other racial ethnic groups who took the test but one; an Oriental subject was included as she indicated a minimal knowledge of understanding spoken Mandarin Chinese, with no ability to speak it or write it. She claimed Mainstream English as her mother tongue.

All others who claimed Mainstream English as their mother tongue were included. They claimed a Caucasian ethnic racial heritage.

Procedures

A personal questionnaire was completed by each subject responding to requests for information concerning age, sex, education, teaching experience, mother tongue and attitude toward Afro-American English. A question concerning the degree of comprehension of Afro-American English believed to be understood by each subject was included. (Appendix B.)

An oral explanation was made concerning the method to be followed. It was explained that current slang was to be avoided in making translations since no slang was included in the Afro-American English examples. It was also explained that even though Mainstream English is English spoken by educated mainstream Americans of all ethnic groups, translations from Afro-American English to the more formal Standard English would be acceptable. The difference between what was Mainstream English and Standard English as used in this study was explained.

The subjects were told that sufficient time would be allowed to complete as complex a translation as was felt necessary to encompass the meaning indicated in the Afro-American English exerpt. Subjects were also made aware of the approximate time required for taking the test in order to control to some extent the length of time required to answer the questions. As in a face-to-face conversation, a great deal of time was not encouraged to be taken before "giving an answer." The time the test would take was given as approximately 50 minutes. Inter-subject discussion was strongly discouraged.

The test was given at three different times to three different classes in order to obtain the required fifty subjects for the study. Total test time, including explanations, varied from 50 to 65 minutes, the longest period of time being required by the largest group of subjects taking the test.

A taped recording of situations which included Afro-American speech imbedded in each situation was played to the subjects via two tape recorders, one at each side of the classroom, as close to the central cluster of subjects as possible. Each situation was played once on one tape recorder and immediately played a second time on the second tape recorder placed on the other side of the classroom. An assistant was necessary to control one of the tape recorders while the researcher controlled the other in order to play the situations as close together as possible.

The tape recorders were turned off and subjects wrote interpretations of the Afro-American English portion of the situation. When all subjects had concluded their translations, the next situation was played, again on both tape recorders, i.e., twice.

No repetitions were allowed and no questions relative to the situations or imbedded Afro-American English statements were answered, either by look or by word. As noted, conversation was discouraged; however, none seemed to be attempted.

There were fifty situations with imbedded Afro-American English to be translated. One situation included two speakers in contrasting remarks, and both remarks were to be translated. The subjects had been advised of the situation requiring two imbeddings to be translated (Number 22) previous to the start of the test.

The repetition procedure was chosen to emulate as closely as possible a real-life situation, where a repetition might be asked for and received. The context of the situation was given to enable the subjects to predict to some degree what the imbedded statement might be. Each situation was kept short to keep Mainstream English interference at a minimum and to allow as much time as possible for the translations. Since classtime was used, an effort to keep the testing period within class time boundaries was essential.

All situations were those which might take place in a classroom: some were between teacher and student and some were between student and student. All dealt with school activities.

Four Afro-American English speakers were recorded: one 18-year old male, one 19-year old female, and one 9-year old female as primary speaker with the addition of another 9-year old female in Situation 22 where two children were required in order to give authenticity to the situation.

No additional time was given at the end of the test for altering what had been written. Questionnaires were collected immediately.

Questionnaires and translations of the Afro-American English examples were identified solely by the last three digits of the subject's Social Security Number for correlation of information gathered.

Scoring Procedures

Scoring on the tests was performed by three teams. Each team had one Afro-American English speaker and one Mainstream English speaker. The sum of the scores across all the raters was used as the comprehension score of each situation for all subjects.

The three teams were catalogued as Teams I, II, and III. The members of Team I were both male college graduates; members of Team II were female high school graduates; and members of Team III were male high school graduates.

Adults were used as being more aware of legitimate versatility in translations. College graduates were used on one team to investigate the possibility of an educational difference in rating, either more permissive toward translation differences or more severe in requiring exact meanings in translations. Each team contained the same sex as a team with the possibility of investigating sex differences relative to permissiveness in translation or severity in judging translations.

Two members per team was deemed to be advisable to enhance the validity of translation judgments because of the possibility of translator error when translating: in the case of an Afro-American English speaker, the possibility of not comprehending the subtleties of Mainstream English which would have been a second language to the Afro-American English speaker; in the case of a Mainstream English speaker, the possibility of not comprehending Afro-American

English sufficiently to understand the nuances of Afro-American English, speech with which the Mainstream English speakers had limited knowledge.

Each team worked separately with the original package of tests. Scoring sheets were provided (See Appendix B).

The tape was played once only for the members of each team in order for the raters to take into consideration the intonation of each Afro-American English utterance. With no time allowed for writing interpretations of the imbedded material, the listening time was fifteen minutes.

Verbal orientation was presented by the researcher, which consisted of requesting the raters to ask themselves why what would seem to be extra words were incorporated into the Afro-American English responses. They were told of the difficulty of making word-for-word translations, bringing their own experience in having studied another language into an awareness of possible pitfalls. In addition, they were encouraged to discuss the problem of translation correctness when they disagreed, not with the goal of having the same score on each question/situation for each subject, but with the idea of each rater testing her/his reasoning from either the Afro-American English or the Mainstream English viewpoint.

None of the three Afro-American English speakers used good Mainstream English, and none of the Mainstream English speakers knew much Afro-American English. Consensus of opinion was encouraged, but the raters were also discouraged from changing their ratings if they were unable to understand completely the reasons for the team-mate's different rating.

After having played the tape for the raters, and shown them how to use the rating sheets with the suggestion that they discuss differences of opinion, the investigator left. Each team required approximately eleven hours to complete the scoring procedures. Because of the length of time required, scoring sessions were broken into two and three hour periods to avoid fatigue, thereby maximizing equal judgments for all fifty subject translations of all fifty questions.

Each item was graded on a scale of 0-3. _0_ was given when no translation was made, resulting in a blank space; _1_ was given for complete lack of comprehension indicated by the attempted translation;

2 was given when there was a translation indicating partial comprehension but insufficient comprehension to be considered to be the message indicated by the Afro-American English imbedded in the situation; 3 was given when there was complete comprehension or comprehension sufficiently near to the acceptable translation that a repetition of the Afro-American English being translated would not be required to allow for an operative and effective reply.

The TCOAD (Testing Comprehension of Afro-American Dialect) appears in Appendix B. The subjects' scores for the TCOAD are found in Appendix C.

Reliability

Inter and intra-group reliability of the scores of the raters was determined by tabulating all scores of perfect agreement. If all raters scored a 1 for an answer given by a subject, that counted as a point of agreement. This applied to total agreement on scores of 2s, and of 3s. There was always total agreement on

0s since no effort had been made to translate a situation. Near-agreement, that is a 2 where other raters had given a 3 was not considered, only 100% agreement being credited toward rater reliability. "A miss is as good as a mile." In real life situations, directions almost understood can sometimes have devastating results. Rater reliability was 72.8%, with 1,820 agreements out of a possible 2,500, if perfect agreement had occurred.

Alpha reliability was obtained within each group as well as across all three of the groups. Three intra-group alpha reliabilities were realized and one inter-group alpha reliability.

Graphs showing percent scored as correct translations and percent scored as incorrect translations appear in Appendix C. Graphs showing percent scored as correct translations per subject and percent scored as incorrect translations per subject also appear in Appendix C.

Treatment of Data

Scores for each subject on the independent variables were determined by the above described procedure. Scores were assigned for each of the independent variables according to logical nomenclature: Attitude toward Afro-American English was SS for Substandard English, DD for Different Dialect of English, and DL for Different Language; Sex was Female and Male; Self-Evaluation of Comprehension of Afro-American English was by percentages as given by the subjects; Linguistics and Grammar Courses were given by number of courses taken; Teaching Experience was stated in number of years rather than in number of semesters, rounding off semesters to be considered as a full year; Foreign Languages Known were considered as Yes or No, rather than as to degree of fluency acquired; and Age was given exactly as stated unless the age was not so given, in which case the age was surmised in view of years of teaching experience in addition to years of education.

Each member of each team kept a score sheet on each subject on each question/situation, resulting in each member of each team having scored a total of 2,500 scores for the entire group of subjects (50) on each situation (50). Each situation had a potential of a maximum rating of 3 so that a perfect score per subject would have been 900 on each scored sheet (3 X 50 X 5 = 900).

All zeroes, all ones, all twos, and all threes were added for a total score for each subject. If the subject had a total of 5 unanswered situations, 23 answered situations with completely incorrect translations, 6 semi correct translations, and 6 very good or perfect translations, the total score would have been:

$$\begin{array}{rl} 5 \times 0 = 0 & \\ 23 \times 1 = 23 & \\ 16 \times 2 = 32 & \\ 6 \times 3 = \underline{18} & \\ 73 & \text{for one score sheet} \end{array}$$

If all scorers had 100% agreement (which occurred once) the total score for that subject would have been:

$$6 \times 73 = 438$$

The subject's score was divided by the possible maximum score to get the subject's percentage score for correctness on all fifty situations. Thus,

$$438 \div 900 = 4856 \text{ or } 48.56\% \text{ correct}$$

If scorers had accorded different scores, each scorer's rating was tabulated. The correct value was given to each answer as given by each rater and all rate values added, with the total score divided by a "perfect" score of 900 to get the percent score of correctness per subject. The only score which was sure to be the same across scoring sheets was that for unanswered situations, resulting in a zero for such a situation.

Rating tables appear in Appendix C.

The independent variable, comprehension of Afro-American English, was scored as 900. Scores per each subject were derived from the totals of each scorer resulting in raw scores from which percentage scores were obtained. Raw scores were used to rank from the highest score at 50 and the lowest at 1. Ranks from 50 to 1 were assigned to subjects for Hypotheses 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8, with Ranks from 48 to 1 being assigned to subjects for Hypothesis 1, with two subjects remaining uncommitted as to Attitude toward Afro-American English as Substandard English, a Different Dialect of English, or as a Different Language.

Non-parametric tests were used because of sample size and limited variant rankings (three ranks), and because the subjects were not randomly chosen but were selected. For Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7, the Kruskal-Wallis Test was used; for Hypotheses 6 and 8, the Mann-Whitney U-test was used (two ranks).

For discussion within the text, percentage scores have been used instead of raw scores, since a clearer picture is possible in terms of percentages. Percentages were sometimes equal when raw scores varied by one point, resulting in a slight discrepancy between exact Ranking by raw scores and the resulting percentage scores. Percentage scores, however, facilitate understanding of the results where such minimal differences in raw scores occurred.

Collection of the data and pilot tests run are described in Appendix C.

Chapter IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Data and results relative to three analyses are shown in this chapter. Statistical analysis of the hypotheses and the linguistic analysis of teacher interpretations examine factors involved in teachers' apprehension of Afro-American English. Since the statistical results obtained are based upon rater decisions as to the ability of each subject to comprehend each situation in the questionnaire, an analysis of rater scoring is also included.

Analyses of Research Hypotheses

This phase of analysis was to test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis I. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their attitudes toward Afro-American English;

Hypothesis II. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the degree of accuracy with which teachers evaluate their own comprehension of Afro-American English;

Hypothesis III. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of years teaching Afro-American English speaking students;

Hypothesis IV. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of linguistics courses they have taken;

Hypothesis V. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of grammar courses they have taken;

Hypothesis VI. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of foreign languages understood or spoken;

Hypothesis VII. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their age group; and

Hypothesis VIII. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American

English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their sex.

Description of Sample Population Related to Independent Variables

Fifty students attending graduate school in the School of Education at The University of Houston were used as subjects. Twenty-one of the subjects had degrees in Science Education, twenty-eight had a bachelor's degree with the field unspecified, and one had a bachelor's degree in Business Management. Ten subjects had a master's degree. All subjects had taught at least one year, the maximum years of teaching being thirty years. The mean years of teaching was 4.88; the mode was 3 years of teaching. Forty-five teachers had taught 1-14 years; five teachers had taught 22-30 years. Of those teachers who had taught 22 years or more, only one had taught Afro-American English speakers for more than one year.

Forty of the teachers were female; ten were male. One male had a master's degree; the other subjects having master's degrees were female. Three males had taught Afro-American English speakers for at least one year; two males had taught Afro-American English speakers for 3 years; the remaining five males had not taught classes with Afro-American English speakers in them.

Fourteen teachers, all female, had taught classes containing 100% Afro-American English speakers; one female had taught classes with 80% Afro-American English speakers; no females had taught classes with 66% Afro-American English speakers; and seven females had taught classes with 33% Afro-American English speakers. The other eighteen teachers had not taught in any classes containing Afro-American English speakers.

Of the ten male teachers, two had taught classes with as much as 66% Afro-American English speakers and three males had taught classes containing 33% Afro-American English speaking students. Five had not taught any Afro-American English speakers, and no male teachers had had classes containing all Afro-American English speakers.

All teachers had taught in Texas except for 15 who had taught in other states or in other countries; of those 15, 6 had taught in foreign countries. Of the remaining 35, 9 had taught in other areas of Texas than Houston; 26 had taught only in Houston or its surrounding area.

Of the fifty subjects, none evaluated self comprehension of Afro-American English at 100%. Eight believed they comprehended Afro-American English about 75% of the time; 29 - 50%; 11 - 25%, and two subjects evaluated their comprehension of Afro-American English at 0%.

All were native English speakers, with Mainstream English as their mother tongue. Thirty-two claimed no knowledge of another language, while 18 declared some knowledge of a foreign language. Of those 18, 7 claimed complete control of another language: 4 of Spanish and 3 of French.

Of the fifty subjects, 29 had had some linguistics training: 19 with 1 course; 4 had had 2 courses; 3 had had 3 courses; and 3 had had 5 or more courses in linguistics. Those having had grammar courses were: 13 having had at least 1 course; 14 had had 2 courses; 3 had had 3 courses; 4 had had 4 courses; and 2 had taken more than 4 courses. Fourteen of the subjects had had no grammar courses. Eight subjects had taken neither grammar nor linguistics courses.

The age span of the subjects was 21 - 52. All those 40 and over were female; the male age span was 22 - 39.

Data obtained from the Teacher Comprehension of Afro-American Dialect Questionnaire provided a description of subjects as they related to the variables used in this study.

Table 1, Appendix D, provides a profile showing the scoring of each variable for each of the fifty subjects, with the per cent score of each subject.

Statistical Hypotheses Related to Population Variables

The dependent variable used in this study was subjects' ability to understand and translate samples of Afro-American English. Independent variables were Attitude, Self-Evaluation of Comprehension, Teaching Experience with Afro-American English speakers, Linguistics Courses taken, Grammar Courses taken, Foreign Language Study, Age, and Sex.

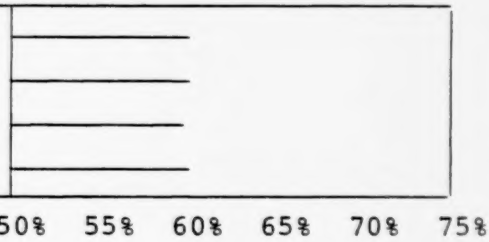
Hypothesis I. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their attitudes toward Afro-American English.

The Kruskal-Wallas Test indicated no significant difference (p > .9) among the three groups of teachers (SS - substandard English; DD - different dialect of English; and DL - a different language from Standard English). Two subjects of the total of 50 did not express an opinion and were omitted from the test, but of those 48 who did express an opinion, 23 considered Afro-American English as a substandard version of Mainstream English. Nineteen subjects considered the speech of Afro-Americans to be a different dialect, and 6 gave it the status of a different language. The results appear in Figure 1, following.

Figure 1.

H_1 - Attitude toward Afro-American English Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.

SS	n=23	$\bar{X}$=60.23
DD	n=19	$\bar{X}$=60.09
DL	n= 6	$\bar{X}$=59.65
NA	n= 2	$\bar{X}$=60.20



N=50
n=48

p > .9

SS - Substandard English
DD - Different Dialect of English
DL - Different Language from Standard English

Of those 6 who considered Afro-American English a different language from Mainstream English, only 1 had taken a linguistics course and a grammar course; 5 had taken at least 1 grammar course (this included the subject who had taken both a linguistics course and a grammar course), and 1 had taken neither type of course.

The 19 who considered Afro-American English a different dialect of Mainstream English, showed 16 to have taken either a grammar course or a linguistics course, with the remaining 3 having had neither type of course.

Of the 23 who considered Afro-American English substandard English, 19 had had either a linguistics course or a grammar course, with the remaining 4 having had neither type of course.

It is clear that taking a course in the structure of English, either through a grammar course or through a linguistics course, had little or no effect on the attitude toward Afro-American English held by the teachers who took this test.

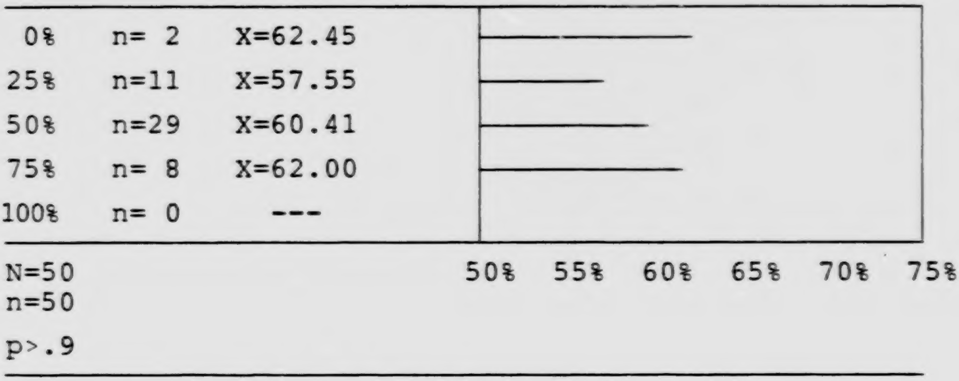
Hypothesis II. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of

Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the degree of accuracy with which teachers evaluate their own comprehension of Afro-American English.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test indicated no significant difference ($p > .9$) among those who perceived themselves as comprehending at levels of 0%, 25%, 50%, and 75% or 80%. There were no teachers who perceived themselves as comprehending 100% of Afro-American English while two perceived themselves as comprehending none at all--0%. Actual comprehension ranged from 43.3% to 71.2% over all translations, with 1 subject in the 70%-80% range and 3 subjects scoring within the 40%-50% range. There was a steady growth from 52.3% to 71.2% with a slight break in continuity between the 10th and 11th ranked subjects (67.1% with a drop to 65.2%) and another at each end of the ranking, i.e., between 1st and 2nd ranked subjects (71.2% with a drop to 69.7%) and between the 47th and 48th ranked subjects (52.3% to 49.3%, followed by the 49th ranked subject at 45.6%, and the 50th ranked subject at 43.3%).

Figure 2

H_2 - Self-Evaluated Comprehension of Afro-American English Related to Actual Comprehension of Afro-American English.



The subject who was rated at 71.2% comprehension had evaluated her own comprehension rate at 50%, showing a lack of confidence in her ability, but also showing an awareness that there was incomplete comprehension on her part. The three subjects scoring the lowest, in the 40's, realized their inability to comprehend Afro-American English, rating their comprehension at 25%.

One of the most important results of this study has been the appearance of the recognition by teachers that they do not understand students who are speaking Afro-American English.

Hypothesis III. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of years teaching Afro-American English speaking students.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test indicated no significant difference ($p > .1$) among the three groups: no experience; 1-2 years of experience; and 3 or more years of experience teaching Afro-American students.

Of the top 10 scorers, those who scored above 67% (there was a break between 65% and 67%), 3 had never taught Afro-American students. Of those who had taught Afro-American students, 2 had taught with Black students in the classroom for one year only, 2 had taught for three years, and 3 had taught 5 or more years. The top scorer, at 71.2%, had taught Afro-Americans for 5 years.

All top scoring subject teachers were 27 or older, with three who were 27 years old, one 28 years old, two 33 years old, and the other four 40 or over. Those 3 who had never taught in an Afro-American classroom were 27 and 28 years old. Four who had taught in classrooms with Afro-American students had taught in classes with over 75% Black students, and two had taught in classes with 33% Black students. It can be conjectured whether immersion might not be conducive to learning the language of the students.

It might also be conjectured that the 27-28 year old teachers had reacted positively toward the Afro-American struggles for equality and self-improvement despite the younger teachers' not having taught in classes with Black students. A further conjecture might be made concerning the learning of Afro-American English by the 3 women who were older, two of them women who had worked all their lives, having taught 22 and 28 years, and the third having gained her complete 6 years of teaching experience teaching Black students in a 100% Black classroom. Two males, one 27 and the other 28, neither of whom had taught Afro-American students, were included in the top ten scorers.

Below are two figures, Figure 3 showing the statistical results of 3 groups: 0, 1-2 years, and 3+ years of teaching Afro-American students. Figure 3 shows years of teaching Afro-American students by separate numbers of years and means.

Figure 3

H_3 - Years Teaching Afro-American English Speaking Students Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English

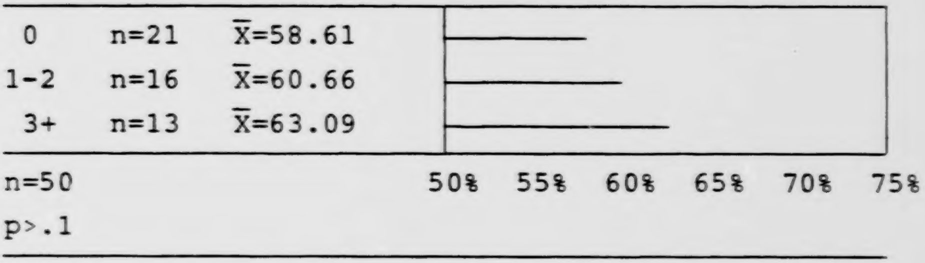
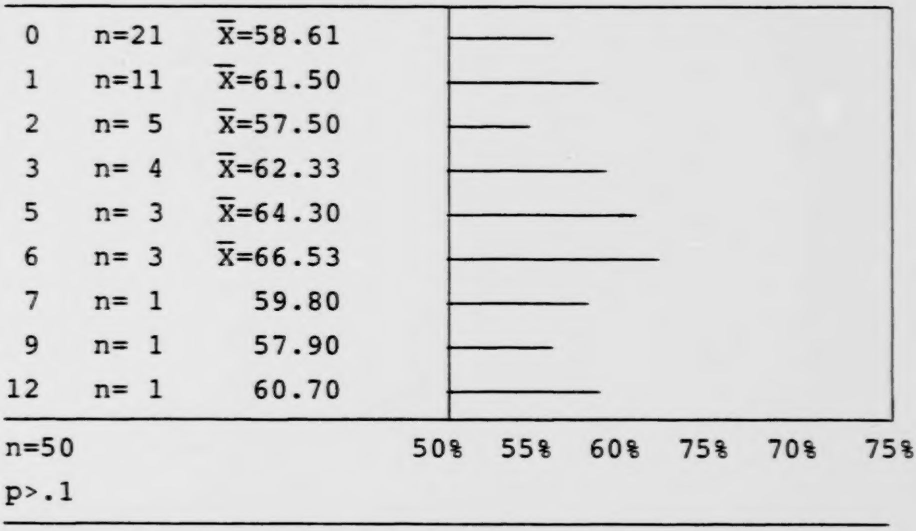


Figure 4

H_3 - Years Teaching Afro-American English Speaking Students Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English. (Detailed.)



Additional years of teaching Afro-American students seems to be conducive to learning Afro-American English.

Hypothesis IV. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of linguistics courses they have taken.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test indicated that there was no significant difference ($p > .1$) among the three groups: those having taken no linguistics courses; those having taken at least one linguistics course; and those who had taken 2 or more linguistics courses.

Twenty-one subjects who had never taken a linguistics course had a mean score of 59.61; those having taken at least 1 linguistics course had a mean score of 58.86; and those who had taken 2 or more linguistics courses had a mean score of 63.48, showing a steady growth in comprehension rate from 1 to 2+ courses in linguistics. These results are shown in Figure 5.

Figure 6 shows a slightly more detailed picture, with a growth after having had 2 linguistics courses of 6.5% after having had 3 linguistics courses. The sample is small, but the indications are that linguistics courses are of value in the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speakers.

Figure 5

H_4 - Linguistics Courses Taken Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.

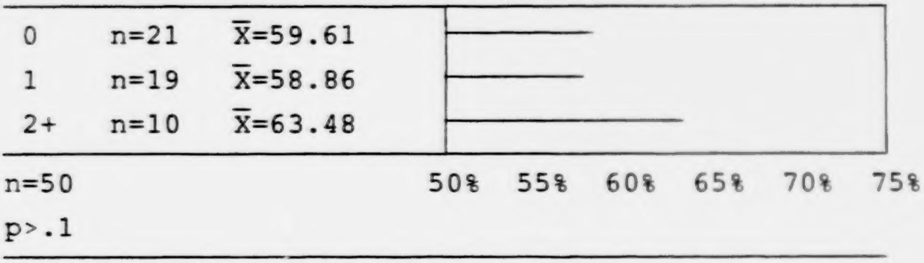
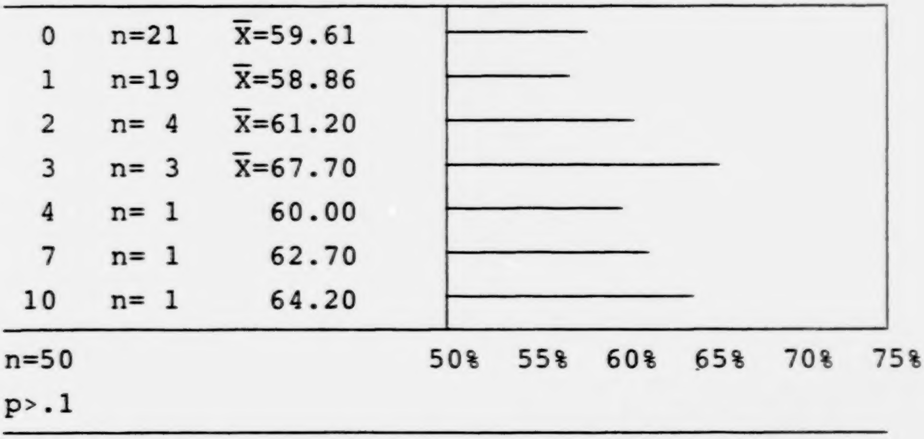


Figure 6

H_4 - Linguistics Courses Taken Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English. (Detailed.)



Of those having taken 3-10 courses in linguistics, the mean comprehension score was 64.56, a rather high score. This suggests a trend toward more comprehension of Afro-American English as the number of linguistics courses is increased.

Relative to Hypothesis 1 (Attitude toward Afro-American English), it would seem that the study of linguistics may result in better comprehension of Afro-American English, but that a more positive attitude toward the speech of Afro-Americans could be encouraged by those who are teaching those linguistics classes.

The rise and then fall as linguistics courses taken grows is somewhat puzzling. Being able to apply what has been learned may be the cause of the rise after the fall at 4+ linguistics courses taken. A minimum of two courses appears necessary before benefits accrue where application can be made in the classroom. The rather dramatic rise at the taking of 3 courses indicates that with these teachers, linguistics courses are helping them comprehend Afro-American English. With the data received in this study, it is apparent that several things are happening and that the taking of linguistics courses in sufficient amount is one of the factors involved in increasing comprehension of Afro-American English.

Hypothesis V. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of grammar courses they have taken.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test indicated that there was a significant difference ($X^2 = 9.88$, df = 3, $p = .06$). Those having taken no grammar courses ($n = 15$) had a mean comprehension of 60.40; those who had taken one grammar course ($n = 13$) had a mean comprehension of 59.39; while those who had taken two grammar courses ($n = 14$) had a mean comprehension of 57.70. The fourth group ($n = 8$) consisted of those who had taken three courses or more with a mean comprehension score of 65.11.

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons between the four groups was accomplished using the Multiple Confidence-Interval Procedures for the Krusal-Wallis Test (Marscuilo and McSweeney, 1977, pp. 306-307).*

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* Marscuilo, L., and McSweeney, M. Nonparametric and Distribution-free Methods for the Social Sciences. Monterey, Cal.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, Inc. 1977.

This test is a non-parametric equivalent to the Scheffé Test. The only pairwise difference which achieved significance was between those who had taken two grammar courses and those who had taken three or more grammar courses. The latter group had significantly higher comprehension of Afro-American English.

Figures 7 and 8 show a steady decline in comprehension scores from 0 to 2 courses and a large rise with the taking of 3 grammar courses. In studying the question/situation interpretations made by those who had taken 2 grammar courses it was found that 4 of the subjects had nothing unusual in their question/situation interpretations which would give an indication why they would not particularly be able to comprehend Afro-American English as related to the courses in grammar which they had taken. However, in the remaining 10 question/situation interpretations, the subjects had errors in spelling, punctuation and syntax which would indicate the possibility that they had taken grammar because they either felt they needed it or that the grammar courses had been strongly recommended to them.

It could be said that the 10 subjects were probably grammar students to help them as students rather than grammar students to help them to be better teachers of grammar. Of the 14 subjects who had taken 2 years of grammar, 10 had never learned a foreign language, so that learning the syntax of another language has not been accomplished by these subjects. Learning another language tends to force the learner to be more aware of the syntax of her/his mother tongue, although not a guarantor for learning one's mother tongue. The other four in the group who had taken 2 grammar courses had learned another language, one had learned German and three had learned Spanish.

As in linguistics courses, there is a high at the level of 3 courses in grammar with a falling off at 4 courses in both linguistics and grammar courses as they are related to comprehension of Afro-American English.

Figure 7 shows the statistical results as given, and Figure 8 shows in detail the results of the number of grammar courses taken relative to the comprehension of Afro-American English.

Figure 7

H_5 - Grammar Courses Taken Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.

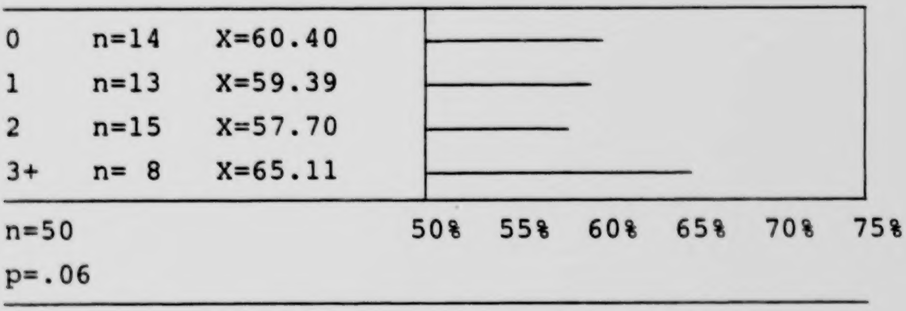
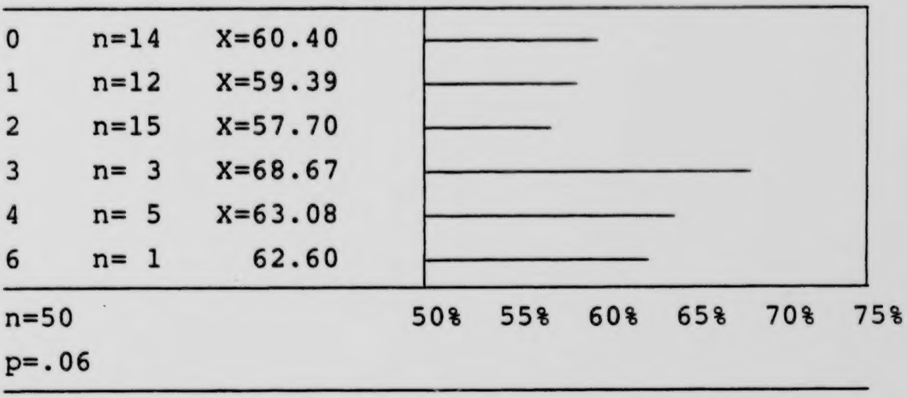


Figure 8

H_5 - Grammar Courses Taken Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English. (Detailed.)



Hypothesis VI. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and the number of foreign languages understood or spoken.

A Mann-Whitney U-Test indicated that there was no significant difference (p =.6) between the two groups: those who knew something of at least one foreign language and those who knew nothing of a foreign language.

Those who knew no other language than English had a mean comprehension score of 60.55, while those who knew some language other than English had a mean comprehension of 60.76. However, those subjects who were fluent in another language had a mean comprehension score of 62.87. Of the seven who had complete control of another language, three had never taught Afro-American English speaking students.

Of those subjects who were fluent in another language, those who were fluent in French had a mean comprehension of 62.97 compared to those who were fluent in Spanish who had a mean comprehension score of 66.5. All those with fluency in French had taught Afro-American English speaking students, while three of those who were fluent in Spanish had never taught classes containing Afro-American English speakers.

Knowing another language does not seem to influence the ability to comprehend Afro-American English, but there does appear to be a relationship between those who are fluent in Spanish who seem to have a greater ability to comprehend Afro-American English. In the Houston area, many Blacks and Hispanics live in the same local areas, and it might be that more Afro-American English is used within the mixed neighborhoods than is used in the areas where Blacks and Caucasians do not mix. Although many Hispanics are Caucasian, there might be a sympathetic bond uniting them in an effort to understand each other, and work together to enlarge their political, social, and financial worlds. This has been occurring as reported by the newscasters and may well be at work in the classroom as well.

Again it may be that learning another language has given some expertise to both the group that controls other languages and the group that controls Spanish in "picking up" languages, although the difference is not statistically evident. Of all subjects participating in the study, only seven were fluent in another language. It is possible that those who were not fluent in another language were unable to grasp sufficient meaning from their studies or contacts to apply grammatical fundamentals to the learning of more Afro-American English.

Figure 9 shows the results of the statistical grouping of knowing something about another language and knowing nothing of another language. Figure 10 shows the results of more detailed groupings.

Figure 9

H_6 - Foreign Language Learning Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.

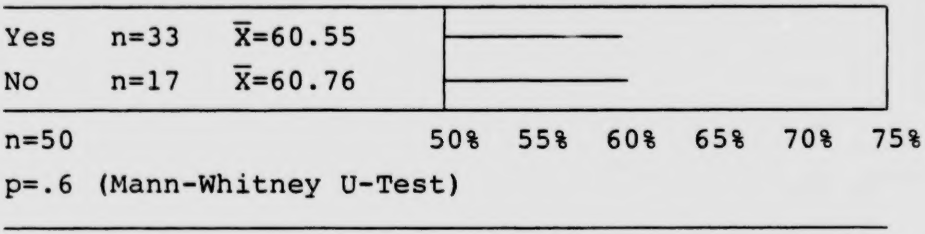
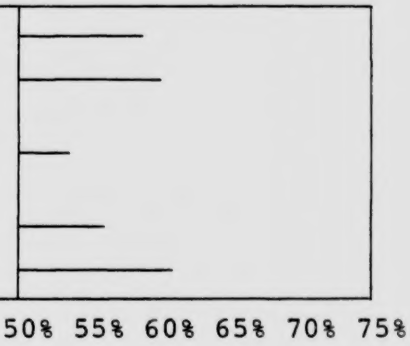


Figure 10

H_6 - The Amount of Foreign Languages Learned Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.

None	n=32	$\bar{X}$=60.55
Reading only	n= 5	$\bar{X}$=62.88
Listening only	n= 2	$\bar{X}$=54.15
Reading and Listening	n= 4	$\bar{X}$=56.16
Control	n= 7	$\bar{X}$=62.87



n=50

p>.05 (Kruskal-Wallace Test)

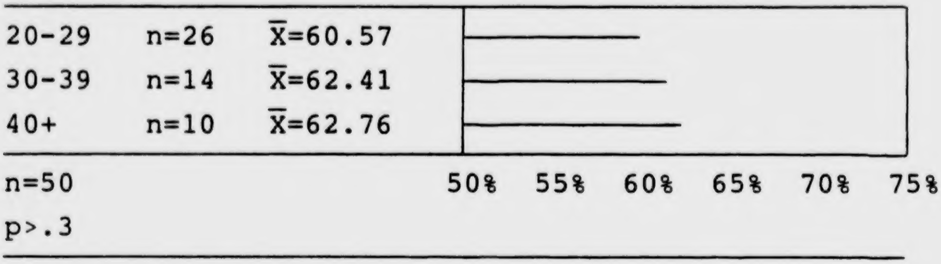
Hypothesis VII. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English Speaking teachers and their age group.

A Kruskal-Wallis Test indicated that there was no significant difference ($p > .3$) among the age groups 20-29, 30-39, and 40+. No subject was omitted as it was possible to determine approximate age based upon teacher education and years of teaching experience.

The 20-29 age group (n = 26) had a mean comprehension score of 60.57; the 31-39 age group (n = 14) had a mean comprehension score of 62.41; the 40+ age group (n = 10) had a mean comprehension score of 62.76. Of special note, however, is the group of over-50 teachers (n = 3), shown to be over 50 by reason of experience and education, which had a mean comprehension score of 65.93. The group is too small to make any statement other than that it might be of interest if such an experienced group were investigated as to comprehension of the language of their students.

Figure 11

H_7 - Age Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.

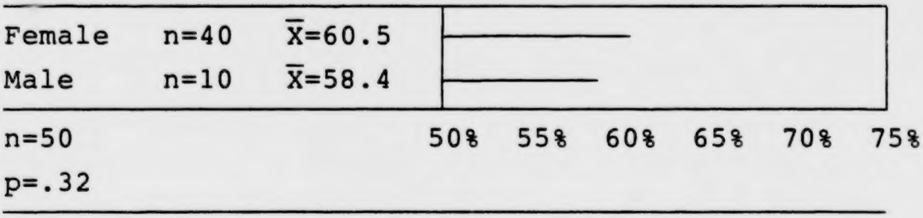


Hypothesis VIII. There will be no positive correlation between the comprehension of Afro-American English by Mainstream English speaking teachers and their sex.

A Mann-Whitney U-Test indicated that there was no significant difference (p = .32) between men and women. Female subjects had a mean comprehension score of 60.50 and male subjects had a mean comprehension score of 58.40. There were 40 females and 10 males.

Figure 12

H_8 - Sex Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.



Those areas dealing with language seem to have had an effect although not statistically significant except in reference to Hypothesis V, grammar courses taken. However, if details are noted, those areas in which conversation or speech are involved seem to encourage the learning of Afro-American English: grammar, linguistics, and teaching Afro-Americans in the classroom. Teaching experience may be of value, as may age if coupled with teaching experience. Sex has no apparent influence on whether Afro-American English is comprehended or not.

Additional Statistical Analysis

Teaching Locations

An additional computation was worked out for information concerning comprehension of Afro-American English by those who had taught in areas other than in the Houston area. The following graph shows a mean comprehension for those who have taught in the Houston Area Only of 60.6, while those who have taught in Other Areas in Texas have a mean comprehension score of 61.4. Houston Only (n = 25); Texas, Including Houston (n = 35).

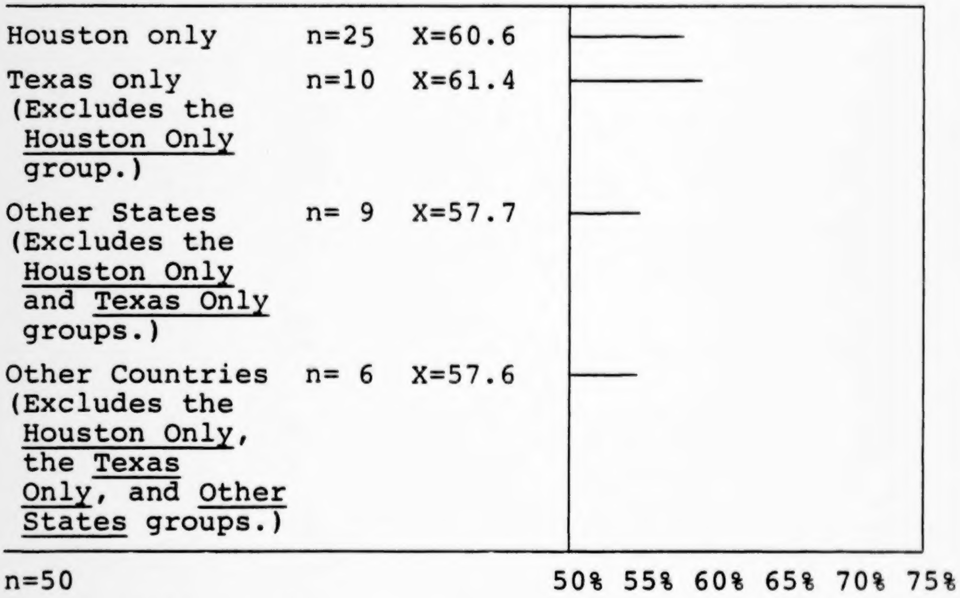
Those who have taught in Other States had a mean comprehension score of 57.7, and those who had taught in Other Countries had a mean of 57.6.

The Kruskal-Wallace Test indicated that there was no significant difference ($p > .09$) but the result indicates a trend showing that those who have taught not only in Houston but in other areas of Texas comprehend more Afro-American English than do those subjects who have taught in other countries.

Teaching no farther away than the State of Texas seems to help comprehend Afro-American English. Contact with the language quite clearly increases comprehension of the language.

Figure 13

Teaching Experience in Different Geographical Areas Related to Comprehension of Afro-American English.



p>.09 (All teachers are assumed to have taught in Houston.)

Linguistic Characteristics

Although speech communication cannot be dissected into parts and still remain communication, there are different aspects of speech which can be isolated for discussion. It is recognized that they must be inspected as they occur in the speech situation. To facilitate analysis the categories of phonological characteristics, lexical characteristics, syntactic characteristics, and semantic characteristics are used. A complete transcription of the situations as recorded for testing can be found in Appendix B.

Phonological Characteristics

Final consonants are often deleted, particularly in the simple past. However this occurs in other locations as discussed by Fasold and Wolfram.[149] Situation 3, "clean up" (cleaned up) and Situation 4, "don' let" (don't let) are typical. Situation 7 used the word "funz" (funds) and, by penultimate consonant deletion, created Mainstream English identification as a pluralization of "fun" (funs) or as a different pronunciation of the vowel sound of "fawn" and the plural of the word, giving the word the significance of a metaphor for "girlfriend."

Situation 11 is a combination of pronunciation and vocabulary confusion in that the phrase "have a min'" is a shortened form of Mainstream English "to have half a mind" to do something, creating a difference in meaning because of "have/half" and the difference in verb form for the third person singular, "have" for "has." Afro-American English combines the third person singular and the "half" into an assertion meaning *He has a mind to do it*, i.e., *He has made up his mind to do it*. Mainstream English is *He has half a mind to do it*, signifying indecision.

A phonological difference occurs in Situation 17, where "presh" is used instead of "press" and is a combination of "press" and "push" in Afro-American English. A similar situation occurs in the use of "fruge" for "fuse" in that the final sybilant is frictionalized in Situation 50.

Situation 32 created confusion with the stop in "start" in that it was translated as "stop(ped)" since the /r/ was deleted, rounding and detensing the /a/ to /ɔ/. This gave the exact reverse of what was intended: *I've stopped coughing* instead of *I've started coughing*. Situation 39 resulted in a reversal of the /r/ deletion in that "spote" (supports) was translated as "sport(s)," meaning to play around, or to prostitute herself. The deletion of /r/ was recognized but not the elision of the "u," /ə/.

The substitution of a glottal stop (ʔ) for the /k/ in "backroom" in Situation 46 resulted in miscomprehension by Mainstream English speakers in that they did not know if /k/ were being deleted or /t/ (a substitute for "th") /θ/, in Afro-American English, giving "bathroom" instead of "backroom." A lack of recognition of "t" as an allophone of "d" in Afro-American English, and the elongation of the "a" in "bad," confused a few subjects who translated "bad" as "batty," i.e., "crazy," in Situation 49. Phonological differences created problems in translating lexical items.

Lexical Characteristics

In Situation 11, where "have" and "half" have been combined into the formation of a completely different idea, Situation 1 uses "designing" as "thinking about" rather than the more definitive "planning." The ideas are related but differ sufficiently to allow of miscommunication. The boy is thinking about doing the paper, not planning on doing the paper. Situation 2 uses the word "smart" to mean "busy" whereas the word was an adverb, "smartly," modifying a verb. The deleted "'re" does not take an "ly" adverb, but the meaning remains in the shortened word "smart." "Smart," in this context, means to be using one's head. With the "right" preceding it, even though this is a "southern" expression, this caused some translations to be insulting rather than complimentary: You're a smart aleck, for example.

Situation 3 gives a social meaning to "cleaned up" as synonymous with "apologized," indicating the ugly situation was "cleaned up."

Situation 3 involved "lay" as "place" or "put," a meaning which did not cause many subjects to be confused, being familiar with other similar uses of "lay," in all probability, such as "lay it on the line." However, "prone" in Mainstream English as being "inclined" is used as "pushed" or "forced" in Afro-American English, as in Situation 9. Situation 14 uses the word "cold" as being in control rather than as being unfriendly, as in Mainstream English.

The word "go" does not signify action in Situation 18. "There he go" is to be translated as "There he is" and is grammatical in a sense, but is primarily a lexical difference. The use of "done gone" and "went" meaning "directly from this place" and "leaving from some other place," respectively, is grammatical in that "done gone" indicates, with the auxiliary of Afro-American English "done," a finished act; however, the "gone" and "went" are lexically different in what is indicated.

Situation 27 uses the expression "fixing to," that is "getting ready to," and the total expression "fixin' you mouf on" is a lexical expression replacing "cursing" or the more common "cussing" in its elementary sense, that is, to say bad things about a person with the idea of calling on spiritual help of some sort. If the expression were to stop the opponent from simply saying bad things, the words would have been "Shut your mouth" or something close to it. Many southerners use the term "fixin' to" as Afro-Americans use the term. Situation 28, using "getting ready to" differentiates between the two expressions as to readiness, that is, as to time. "Getting ready to" precedes "fixing to."

In Situation 33, there is another slight distinction made with the use of "around" in that it is an indication of activity, not a location. A fine distinction is also made in the use of "by" in Situation 36. It is "right next to," not "somewhere in the vicinity of."

Two purely Afro-American English expressions are "to put a hurt on" and "grave," Situations 38 and 40, respectively. The first expression can mean to hurt someone physically or to do so vicariously, that is, via a hex. The second expression is a widened meaning of the basic word "grave" as serious. The situation is serious in that many Afro-Americans have literally ended up in their "graves," i.e., dead. A "grave" situation in Afro-American connotes exactly that, the possibility of non-survival. The expression "been in there" is an accepted expression for "been in that situation." This is used as Mainstream English slang, but is a legitimate expression in Afro-American English and is not slang.

Situation 47 uses the word "extenditures," a purely Afro-American English variant of the word "extend."

Just as "by" has the meaning of "very close to," the preposition "at" is used differently in Afro-American English to indicate specific location "away." This is also used in the expression "He at work" (He is away from home), or "He at home" (He is not at work/He is away from work, not He's in the house).

Syntactic differences abound and are well covered by many linguists, including Labov, Fasold, Wolfram, Luelsdorff, and Stewart. The double negative is found in substandard English but can become very complicated, as indicated by Smitherman.[150]

Syntactic Characteristics

Verbal aspects are explained well by Fickett,[151] and Smitherman,[152] both of whom are widely quoted as sources for information on a complicated subject.

The possessive, as in Situation 10, is variously called a phonological difference, in that the final "s" is deleted, and a syntactic difference, in that Afro-American English can have the subject pronoun as the possessive form, i.e., "He book" (His book), and can also add an "s" to the nominal form of the possessive, "mine" becoming "mines," i.e., "That book mines" (That book is mine). (See Wolfram and Fasold.)[153]

The pleonastic referent is commonly used as identification of a specific person, as in Situation 19 and Situation 41, My sister he been stay here and Mr. Smith I got a F in his class one time. This is sometimes called a "double subject" but can occur with the object as well. The masculine pronoun for the feminine referent in Situation 19 is claimed to be used only by very young Afro-American English speakers, according to some linguists, but it is quite common with adults in this area. It seems to be an Afro-American English characteristic used among Afro-American English speakers when they are speaking only among themselves. That it disappears in adult speech is a characteristic of older speakers when they are in the company of Mainstream English speakers.

Invariant "be" is discussed in all articles on Afro-American English and is part of the aspects of verbs. It is used in the future to indicate an expected condition, as in Situation 42. The future is also indicated, in this area, by prothetic vowel /ə/, probably "a," as in Situation 21, I'm a do 'em. In sub-standard English this can be heard in I ain't a gonna do it, related to Afro-American English in Situation 6, I ain' goin' do it.

It has been mentioned in various places that the Afro-American English speaker does not use a passive voice. In this area this seems to apply. In Situation 20, They been knowed, can only be translated as The children already know how to do the problems. The past participle, "known" is never used, "knowed" only being acceptable in Afro-American English in this area. For I have known it for a long time, the Afro-American English speaker would say, I knows it, or I been know it (plus a specified time).

The statement as question, as in Situation 23, Where you(r) house is is always used in this area for questions seeking information. How you been, with falling intonation, indicates a desire to know how that person has been faring; How you been, with a higher tone at the end on "been" is merely phatic communion.

Semantic Characteristics

Semantically, the Afro-American has a different past to which reference is made without either the Afro-American or Caucasian being sufficiently aware of it to apply it to misunderstandings in communication, particularly on the linguistic level.

In situation 15, the deictic element is a syntactic construction available only through the context of living conditions for Afro-Americans as different from those of Caucasians. Even Mainstream English speaking Afro-Americans would be able to translate the statement correctly, in all probability, since their inheritance is similar to that of other Afro-Americans. The they refers all the way through the statement to Caucasians. They is the other, not one of us: The whites are not going to allow themselves to think about changing.

In Situation 41, the expression of "one time" (Mr. Smith I got a F in his class one time) is a prevaricative expression used to avoid being explicit. It does not have the significance it does in Mainstream English of "only," as some Subjects translated it. This is a vocabulary miscommunication involved with a semantic meaning.

Semantically, to get the basics, for an Afro-American, is to get a foot in the Mainstream Society's door; that is the first step. Thus, in Situation 43, "to get to first base" is synonymous with "to get the basics," resulting in the Afro-American English expression, "to get the first basics." Semantically, the two are the same for Afro-Americans: to get the basics is to get to first base.

Situation 45, "to be real unconscious right about now" is to be non-thinking and non-feeling customarily at this time. The Afro-American prides her/himself on being aware of life and its activities, and this is an apology of greater magnitude that it would be coming from a Caucasian.

Situation 7, Ain' got no funz, indicates much more for an Afro-American than it would to a Caucasian, and more to an Afro-American English speaker than to an Afro-American Mainstream English speaker. "Funds" refers to more than just ready available money for the party; the statement is that the boy has no money now and no possible way to get any. "Cash money" is money in hand or in pocket; "funds" is replenishable money. The boy has no replenishable money.

Situations 29, 30, and 31, are interesting since they are different semantically because of syntax. Go hollerin' is "start yelling"; be hollerin' is an efficient way to accuse the opponent of having started the fight; and go be hollerin' is just as an efficient way of accusing the other child that not only did she start the quarrel, she is always starting quarrels. Direct confrontation on a verbal level is part of the Afro-American English speaking child's means of learning how to develop language to be used effectively and efficiently. (See Kochman (1981); Abrahams (1976))[154]

Summary

Phonology, syntax, vocabulary, and semantics all were encountered and mishandled in one or more translations, but phonology appeared to create the most blatant misunderstandings since in not comprehending the word that was being used, a whole statement was often distorted, causing an apparent lack of comprehension of syntax and/or vocabulary. Intonation was involved in lack of comprehension semantically in several situations, so that despite efforts to isolate phonological problems, it was clear that phonology contributed to problems in the other three areas.

For detailed linguistic analysis of each situation, see Appendix E, p. 269.

Analysis of Raters' Scoring

Of the three teams of raters, the team consisting of male college graduates (the Caucasian had a master's degree in Science and the Afro-American had a bachelor's degree in Business Administration and had almost completed his master's degree in Business Administration) scored subjects a little less stringently than did the other two teams, consisting of high school graduates. The more leniency toward translations may have been because of contact with Afro-Americans whose language had taken on more of the Mainstream English characteristics than had those with whom the high school graduates had come in contact. It might also have been because of the Afro-American's desire to believe in the Mainstream English speakers' finding as much understanding of Afro-American English as possible. Those situations on which Team I scored much higher than did Teams II and III were:

Situation 7: Ain' got no funs.
Situation 8: He have a min' to do it.
Situation 15: Ain' goin' get in they min' they change 'cause they ain'.
Situation 18: There he go hin' you back.
Situation 22: He done gone home. Unh-unh! He down in the office; he went home.
Situation 33: I's ki's aroun'.
Situation 34: I ono where i's at.

Situation 36: They was up in the tree that be by us.

Situation 43: All I gotta do is get to the first basic.

Situation 44: I got used 've it.

Situation 45: I'm real unconscious right about now.

Situation 46: He goin' put me one in the ba'room.

Those situations on which Team I scored more strictly than did Teams I and II were:

Situation 6: I ain' goin' do it.

Situation 12: I coulda did that what he did'n it.

Situation 13: I been had it for some time.

Situation 19: My sister he been stay here.

Situation 21: I'm a do 'em.

The situations on which Team I gave lower scores than did Teams II and III were all syntax-related statements. The situations on which Team I gave higher scores were mixed as to phonological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic differences:

Phonological: Situation 34 and 46.

Phonological and Lexical: Situations 7; 8; 18; 36; 43; and 45.

Syntactic: Situations 15 and 44.

Syntactic and Semantic: Situations 15 and 33.

Semantic differences account, at least in part, for lack of comprehension in Situation 7, where the word "funds" means more than just immediately available money; in Situation 15, where the pronouns all refer to one deictic element: white people; in Situations 18 and 36, where "go" and "by" have different meanings in Afro-American English and Mainstream English, "go" meaning "is" in this statement, and "by" meaning "right next to" in a more specific description than in Mainstream English. The graphs of the correctness, or lack of it, of translations made can be found in Appendix E.

For Teams II and III, those raters not having as much contact with as many college students as the raters on Team I would presumably have, a closer adherence to a stricter translation seemed to occur.

The college graduates of Team I were more lenient on those translations where syntax, particularly verbal aspect, made a difference to the raters on Teams II and III, the high school graduates.

With a rating system of _0_ for a blank space, _1_ for an incorrect effort at translation, _2_ for a close but still inadequate translation, and 3 for a close or perfect translation, total ratings are indicated below:

Table 1

Total Ratings on All Subjects and Questions per Team

Team	0	1	2	3
I	200	2285	2285	5625
II	200	2421	1292	5199
III	200	2415	1290	5220

For detailed ratings, see tables and graphs in Appendix C.

Team I, male college graduates, differed in assigned correctness more often than did the other two teams; that is, intrateam disagreement was highest in Team I. The two members disagreed 50 times. The Afro-American team member gave a higher rating 17 times while the Caucasian team member gave a higher rating 33 times. Totals of differences in rating were 84 points given by the Afro-American and 102 points given by the Caucasian, a disagreement on correctness of 18 occasions, the Caucasian tending toward higher ratings. Disagreement was greatest on Situation 41: Mr. Smith, I got a "F" in his class one time. The Afro-American rater rated this higher 4 times; the Caucasian rated the answer higher 2 times.

Team II, female high school graduates, disagreed the least number of times. They disagreed 13 times, with the Afro-American English speaker giving a higher score 8 times and the Mainstream English speaker giving a higher score 5 times. Total scoring differed 5 points: the Afro-American rating 27 and the Caucasian rating 22 covering the 13 situations on which they disagreed, the Afro-American tending toward higher ratings.

Team III, the male high school graduates, disagreed 54 times, the Afro-American rating higher 29 times and the Caucasian rating higher 25 times. Total scoring on differences was 114 for the Afro-American and 113 for the Caucasian.

Team III, male high school graduates, had the largest number of situations on which there was disagreement: 54; and Team I, male college graduates, had the largest disparity in score values: 18 points. The males showed a difference of opinion four times more often than did the female raters: Team I (male college graduates) - 50; Team III (male high school graduates - 54; Team II (female high school graduates) - 13. All raters were over 35 years of age.

On Team I, the Afro-American English speaker rated answers higher 17 times and the Mainstream English speaker rated answers higher 33 times.

On Team II, the Afro-American English speaker rated answers higher 8 times and the Mainstream English speaker rated answers higher 5 times.

On Team III, the Afro-American English speaker rated answers higher 29 times and the Mainstream English speaker rated answers higher 25 times.

There was little divergence between raters on Teams I and III, in that scores varied primarily by one score, i.e., _1_ and _2_, or _2_ and _3_. On Team I, a total disagreement occurred 12 times, i.e., one rater believed the answer completely wrong and the other rater believed it either perfect or very close to perfect. On Team III, the disagreement was again very low in that there were 9 times of major disagreements where one rater considered the translation completely inadequate and the other rater on the team considered it very adequate. On Team II, of the 13 times where there was some disagreement as to scoring, 6 of those times involved complete disagreement where a 1 was given by one rater and a 3 was given by the other rater. The women disagreed less often with each other's ratings, but their differences of opinion were greater almost half the time.

General Summation

An important finding in this study is that the teachers were aware that they did not understand Afro-American English 100% of the time. Self-evaluations of comprehension of the language was from 0-75%. In no instance, in this study, did comprehension reach the 75% level, although three subjects attained 69% or higher. In no case was comprehension as low as the two subjects who evaluated their comprehension of Afro-American English at 0. Both subjects had indicated a very recent return to The United States after having been teaching for more than four years in foreign countries, and may very well have been still a little ill at ease when speaking their own tongue, a phenomenon of which many individuals are victims after a prolonged stay in a completely foreign culture.

They both had indicated that they considered Afro-American English a different dialect of Standard English. They did not rate it as a separate language; but they did not rate it as a substandard variety of Standard English.

Gumperz (1977)[155] remarks that "when speakers [claim] that they do not understand each other [this] reflect[s] primarily social attitudes rather than linguistic fact." There were several misinterpretations which indicated a negative social attitude toward the language, although such negative interpretations were not always accompanied by the negative view of AAE as "substandard English," nor was this negative misinterpretation reflected particularly in a low comprehension score.

The subject scoring the highest of all fifty subjects, 71.2% had been teaching 100% Afro-American student classes for over 4 years out of a total teaching experience of 28 years. Experience, contact, and effort seem to be apparent here. She had rated Afro-American English as a different language, not a sub-standard variety of Standard English. Profiles of the top 10 and bottom 10 scorers appear in Appendix D.

Myers (1962, p. 20) states that

> We cannot understand each other unless we approximate the habits of those with whom we communicate; but we can only approximate. Until we find two people with identical physical equipment, nervous systems, and backgrounds of experience, we cannot expect to find even two people who use a language in exactly the same way . . . [P]erfect uniformity is not even theoretically possible . . . No matter how many words we use, or how carefully we arrange them, we can never hope to stimulate in the second mind an idea identical to that in the first . . . At its theoretical best, language can only stimulate similar (never identical) reactions in necessarily different systems.[156]

It would have been strange, indeed, had any subject scored 100% on the translations required in the test used in this study. The teachers who attained scores of close to 70% were not understanding the language of the Afro-American English speakers as well as they would have understood the same things said in their mother tongue, Mainstream English, but achieved very good scores. The others did not do as well.

In any classroom situation with which teachers are familiar, good guesses should have elicited better responses than were given in many cases. Linguistics courses and grammar courses seem to be of some help, but it might be that such improvement occurs as a result of becoming aware of the difficulty of attaining perfect results in any language, even the language with which one is familiar, the mother tongue.

An interesting aspect of this study is in observing the subjects taking the test it was noticed that some teachers were taking it because they didn't wish to say they didn't want to take the test. A few were, however, apparently not very interested in taking it. As the test progressed, the student habit of doing as well as possible began to assert itself, and by Situation 25, ratings began to even out, with less extremes of highs and lows. This could also have been caused by becoming familiar with the format of the test and with the voices used.

This type of situation may reflect that which occurs in the classroom. Teachers may not make a strong effort to understand the speech of their Afro-American English speaking students when they first encounter it, but if the teacher is also a learner, i.e., a student, the habit of doing as well as possible might begin to assert itself and an effort to teach as much as possible could result in trying to learn as much as possible about the language of the students.

A copy of the TCOAD given to the subject teachers is located in Appendix B. Both the personal information questionnaire and the situation questionnaire are included.

Chapter V

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Houston states that "it is clear that somehow the differences between CBE (Child Black English) and WE (White English) are systematic. . . ." (1975).[159] Marvin Loflin reiterates the idea when he states that "Black American English represents a case where, when compared with Standard American English, there are differences between the two in discrete sets of features" (1975).[160] Even those who see slight differences between Afro-American English and Mainstream English have pointed out how the discomfort of operating in their second-most-effective language system may impose unfair handicaps on Afro-American English speaking students (Dillard, 1975).[161] In order to evaluate how much Afro-American English Mainstream English speaking teachers understood, a questionnaire consisting of Afro-American English statements was given to graduate teachers.

The teacher-subjects scored a mean of 60% comprehension of Afro-American English, the lowest scoring Subject having 43.3% and the highest scoring Subject having 71.2%. Those teachers who had taken grammar courses showed a significant gain over those who had not taken grammar, and there was a trend toward more comprehension of Afro-American English by those who had taught Afro-American English speaking students.

In the classroom situation the teacher, who is looked up to as a sourse of information and as the representative of a powerful and respected system, is in a more secure position than the incoming student. R. Smith (1973) states that the failure of the Afro-American English speaker to recognize the complexity of certain ambiguities between her/his own dialect is no more serious than this same failure to recognize the complexity of differences on the part of the Mainstream English speaker.

> The English teacher, in her struggle against 'ungrammatical' forms should begin to recognize that some of her students' failures may be identical to her own, resulting from a blockage of understanding of the grammatical structures of the unfamiliar dialect because of ambiguity across dialect boundaries.[162]

There was no significant correlation between teachers' attitudes toward Afro-American English and their comprehension of Afro-American English, whether they considered it to be a substandard dialect of English or a different dialect or a different language. However, that they recognized they could not comprehend Afro-American English to the degree that they comprehended Mainstream English could be used to help teachers recognize that their students might be unfamiliar with Mainstream English. Another factor might be that some of the teachers were not completely familiar with Mainstream English despite being Caucasian and attending classes at the graduate level at the University of Houston.

The subject scoring the lowest was unable to write well in Mainstream English, using poor English, i.e., "I don't know where we're at," and "He's going to save me one," and was unable to spell very well.

In one instance, it was difficult to decide whether the subject was simply writing down what had been heard or was translating. The spelling was strange, as was the syntax, i.e., "He been waiting on a friend, git book." The "git" had an "i" with a very clear dot over it. Another translation was "He yong (sic) man do it. He is man in house and has to work." It was decided that these were not simply copies of what had been heard, but a sort of "shorthand" version of what should have been stated in Mainstream English. One translation "She was use to it, excepted," as written by the Subject, would be "She was used to it; accepted it." Many speakers do not know how to write the form of "use" when used as "accustomed", and many do not know how to write the difference between "accepted" and "excepted."

There were several Subjects who wrote very poor English, four in particular, using no apostrophes in possessive nouns, using "a" before words requiring "an," and making such spelling mistakes as "your" for "you're." The misuse of "use" for "used" in "used to" was characteristic of these four Subjects.

Three Subjects scored in the 50.0% range and one scored in the mid-60.0% range. (Only one Subject scored high enough to be in the 70.0% range.) All Subjects claimed to understand about 50.0% of Afro-American English. Two had taught less than five years and two had taught five years. Two subjects were in their 20s and two were in their 40s.

The six Subjects who had previously taught in Michigan, New York, California, and Louisiana scored in the upper 50.0% range. Those from Wisconsin and Massachusetts scored in the lower 50.0% range. This slight difference may be the result of more Afro-American English speakers being in the Michigan, etc., areas than in the far northern states.

Those teachers who had taught in all-Black schools showed no significant difference from those who had not taught in schools with a 100% Black student body. However, those teachers who had taught in classrooms with 100% Afro-Americans had a mean score of 61.57 (n = 19); while those who had never taught Afro-Americans had a mean score of 58.61 (n = 21). Contact and/or experience seems to help comprehension of Afro-American English.

Some individuals had "doodled" when they had found they had time while waiting for others to write their translations, doodles embellishing the first word of a sentence, or, in one case, drawing a braid and cross-hatched marks next to the question concerning "extenditures." The Subject who had done this had correctly translated the statement at the _2_ level in that she had recognized the need for braids to be made but had not recognized that "extenditures" meant "beads." The drawing had had some relation to the question.

One Subject who claimed to understand 50% Afro-American English and who was teaching in a school with 66% Black student population, had drawn a picture of a flaming cross next to the question relative to the Ku Klux Klan. He correctly identified some of the more difficult statements and seemed to have a feeling for Afro-American English. He received a 59.6% score, however, in that his "translations" were not in Mainstream English. YOAR momma! was given as a translation for "Don' you be fixin' yo' mouf on me!" Yoar momma! has a significance in Afro-American English but not in Mainstream English.

Bourdieu (1971) states that "[m]isunderstandings, borrowings removed from their context and reinterpreted, admiring imitation and disdainful aloofness . . . are all signs familiar to specialists on the situations that arise when cultures meet."[163] Mainstream English speakers do not recognize that they are misusing Afro-American expressions and

Afro-American English speakers do not recognize that they are misusing Mainstream English expressions.

Implications of the Study

H. D. Brown (1980) notes that all human beings build sets of defenses to protect their egos. Those individuals with higher self-esteem and ego strength are more able to withstand threats to their existence and, thus, their defenses appear lower. Individuals with higher self-esteem and ego strength are perhaps more able to withstand such "threats," whereas those with weaker self-esteem may maintain "walls" to protect themselves.[164] When the learner accepts another culture's legitimacy, language learning may proceed more rapidly. Brown explains that

> [c]ommunication requires a sophisticated degree of empathy. In order to communicate effectively you need to be able to understand the other person's affective and cognitive states; communication breaks down when false presuppositions or assumptions are made about the other person's state. From the very mechanical, syntactic level of language to the most abstract, meaningful level, we assume certain structures of knowledge and certain emotional states in any communicative act. In order to make these assumptions correctly we need to transcend our own ego boundaries. . . .[165]

Schumann notes that poorer conditions for learning exist when both groups desire preservation of their own cultures and hold negative attitudes toward each other or where, additionally, one group considers itself subordinate and is also considered subordinate by the target-language group (1976, p. 139).[166]

Acton's Professed Difference in Attitude Questionnaire (PDAQ) (1979) characterizes the successful language learner by asking the individual to quantify what s/he perceives to be the differences in attitude toward various concepts between her/himself and her/his ethnic/racial/national group and the distance between her/his own group and the members of the target culture. If an individual perceived her/himself as either too close to or too distant from either culture, then learning the target language would be difficult. Acton's PDAQ does not predict who will be able to learn the target language, but does suggest the probability of having difficulty in learning the target language. Since many Mainstream English speaking teachers have not yet learned to respect the legitimacy of Afro-American speech (which reflects the Afro-American culture), and consider it to be substandard English, there would be too great a distance felt between the language of the Afro-American English speaking students and the language of the Mainstream English of the teacher for those teachers to want to learn a language which they think of in negative terms.

Acton's PDAQ would also explain why those teachers who wish strongly to learn Afro-American English, and also perceive their attitudes to be relatively distinct from those who speak either Mainstream English or Afro-American English, might not be especially successful at learning the language of their Afro-American English speaking students (1984, personal communication).[167] Guiora et al. (1972) maintain that an adaptive language ego entails the ability to lower the inhibitions that may impede success (Brown, 1980).[168]

Conclusions

Cogdell and Wilson (1980) state that "[b]lacks are convinced that whites think so little of them that conditions are created by whites to increase the probability of black failure."[169] Holt has deplored the fact that "[s]peech-language programs have generally responded to black children's differences with a systematic process of destruction," and recommends that "[i]n order to lift the burden of accountability from the shoulders of the children, some basic objectives which will require the re-education and acculturation of teachers must be accomplished" (1972).[170]

Hurn trusts that "[n]ew research on linguistic codes and on classroom interaction will . . . eventually help . . . identify in considerable detail the barriers that prevent children from achieving the kinds of intellectual skills that only a minority presently achieve" (1978).[171] O'Fallon (1977) notes that "few teachers are trained to even recognize the features of many dialects which differ from 'standard English' much less to accept them as valid linguistic systems."[172]

With the Mainstream English speaking teachers' recognition that they do not understand fully what Afro-American English speakers are saying, it would appear that an effort should be made to give teachers more security when talking with their Afro-American English speaking students. Information concerning the differences between Mainstream English and

Afro-American English should be made available to teachers, and freedom to discuss those differences, free from pejorative intimations, should be encouraged.

It was shown that grammar and linguistics courses helped the Subjects to comprehend more Afro-American English than the Subjects who had not taken such courses. Perhaps more linguistics and/or grammar courses would encourage Mainstream English speakers to inquire into the reasons why there is a lack of comprehension, with an awareness that it is important that the language of their students should be studied and learned as an important tool.

Empathy, as Brown (1980) points out, is the process of "putting yourself into someone else's shoes," of reaching beyond the self, and understanding and feeling what others are feeling. "It is," he states, "probably the major factor in the harmonious coexistence of individuals in society" and "[l]anguage is one of the primary means of empathizing. . . ."[173] By becoming aware of their students' language and attempting to comprehend what their students are trying to communicate, teachers might better empathize with those students who are working under the same handicap as themselves--the students may not be comprehending Mainstream English as thoroughly and completely as has been supposed.

When complete communication is lacking, teachers would be in a better position to explain what those differences are, making translations for their students, and thus help their students learn how to communicate in Mainstream English.

No studies have been conducted to date concerning teacher attitude toward the language of her/his students and the relationship it has on how well the student learns and how well the teacher teaches, although studies have been conducted relative to the effects of instruction on children's attitudes toward different dialects of English. If the teacher's primary goal is to teach Mainstream English, as is the case in foreign language teaching (or where English is being learned as a second language), the teacher's mental set reflects that goal. The various problems s/he has are generally related to language transference, disappointment in adapting to the culture of the people whose language is being learned, fossilization, interlanguage, etc., with relatively little concern as to how well the language being taught will utlimately apply in the learner's chosen field of study, i.e., architecture, mathematics, pure sicence, etc. The application to the learner's field comes at a higher level of communication facility than the general EFL/ESL (English as a foreign language/English as a second language) class requires.

For the teacher who is not primarily teaching language--in the schools, Mainstream English--but is using it as the vehicle for teaching other skills, teaching those other skills may prove difficult if the students only partially understand what is being discussed because of a language barrier. Unless both the student and the teacher are aware that such a language barrier exists, then both student and teacher might very well believe the student simply is a poor student. The student could dislike the subject being taught and the teacher could possibly feel sufficiently frustrated in being unable to teach the student to produce antipathy toward the student.

Given a large number of such students, antipathy toward the entire group may very well occur. The teacher may react by feeling s/he is in the "wrong" field--or is simply not a "teacher." Either reaction, or both reactions, could well result in antagonism toward the "causes" of the feelings of inadequacy: the Afro-American English speaking student or the teaching profession.

Littlejohn (1978) explains that

> [t]he phenomenon of interpersonal communication involves a number of inter-related social acts. It involves, first, the presentation of self to others. It may also involve attempts to understand others and to elicit understanding from others.

He adds,

> Interpersonal communication involves person perception and varying degrees of interpersonal attraction. Finally, we know that interaction can lead to conflict, and conflict can be intensified or reduced via communication.[175]

In addition to teaching the use of better English, the teachers have an added duty to discuss openly in the classroom the various dialects which are acceptable in ordinary social intercourse, but which are not acceptable in areas such as politics, business, law, publications, etc. They must, in addition, be able to discuss openly the differences between dialects and be able to compare and contrast those differences. To do that teachers must be trained in recognizing those differences and be able to explain to the students what equivalent language in Mainstream English can be substituted for forms in Afro-American English. One linguistics course or one grammar course will not suffice in training teachers to comprehend what those differences are, but according to this study, more linguistics courses and more grammar courses might make a difference.

Efforts to "wipe out" the mother tongue of Asiatics and Hispanics is not acceptable in today's schools. Afro-American English should be accepted, and the "addition" of Mainstream English encouraged. This cannot be done without multicultural training and without linguistics and grammar courses for teachers.

Teachers with a background of ESL/EFL training should respect the mother tongue of the students whom they teach. It is important that linguistics and grammar teachers teach respect for the mother tongue of the students whom the public school teachers will be teaching.

The Standards for the Accreditation of Teacher Education recommends that Schools of Education should examine linguistic variations as a basis for the development of appropriate teaching strategies. ESL/EFL methods of teaching have not proven successful in teaching standard English to speakers of other dialects of English. There is a difference in the requirements of the students who know no English and those who know a great deal of English but who speak a variation of English which makes complete comprehension difficult. However, ESL/EFL strategies are recommended.

Seven of the top-scoring ten teachers who took the TCOAD had taught classes containing Afro-American students, while seven of the bottom-scoring ten teachers had never taught classes containing Afro-American students. Contact is obviously of some benefit. It could be, of course, that those teachers who had scored in the bottom ten had never taught a class containing Afro-American students out of a preference for teaching only Caucasians. Avoidance does not facilitate either teaching or learning.

Length of teaching experience seemed to have some effect on whether Afro-American English was understood or not, but that greater length in experience appeared to be in conjunction with length of experience teaching classes containing Afro-American English students.

The longer a teacher teaches, presumably the better s/he will become as a teacher. Teacher "burn out" and student "drop out" may be diminished if better teacher preparation for teaching all the students in the classroom is supplied to teacher trainees.

Recommendations

Further research is needed concerning contact with Afro-American students: Is a class containing 33% Afro-American English speaking students conducive to the teacher's being able to communicate adequately with the students or is a larger percentage of Afro-Americans in the classroom necessary for the teacher to learn more Afro-American English? There is some indication that those teachers who have taught a long time in classes containing more than 50% Afro-American students comprehend more of the language of their students than do those teachers who have taught in classes where the majority of students were Caucasians.

Is a bilingual teacher able to comprehend more Afro-American English, and, if so, is the Spanish-English bilingual teacher better able to comprehend Afro-American English or is any completely bilingual teacher better able to do so? There is some indication that a bilingual teacher, i.e., one having complete control of two languages, comprehends more of the speech of Afro-American students than does a teacher with only partial control of the second language.

Certainly the comprehension of one language seems to be improved by those teachers who have had more experience with other languages, including the language of Afro-Americans. The study of language and languages facilitates the learning of language and languages, but the teacher needs to be the learner.

Feigenbaum (1972) notes that "[t]eacher trainers should be aware that the teachers want specifics in methodology more than general attitudes and concepts."[176]

This is not a manual on how to teach Afro-American English speaking students to speak Mainstream English, nor a manual for showing

Mainstream English speaking teachers how to teach Afro-American English speaking students. However, as Goodman (1972) advises, since

> Language diversity among divergent speakers complicates the task of understanding the literacy problems which they have, teachers need to give careful consideration to the separate characteristics of several kinds of language divergence.

The teacher

> must learn to understand and accept the children's language. He must study it carefully and become aware of the key elements of divergence that are likely to cause difficulty.[177]

Not only should teachers be required to take grammar and linguistics courses, they should be strongly encouraged to take more than one or two such courses, since those having taken three or more showed significant improvement in the comprehension of Afro-American English. Such courses should be taught with all the students whom the teachers might be teaching in mind.

In addition, it is recommended that courses in Afro-American English be added to the curriculum.

To study the Afro-American English speaking child's language is to study, first-hand, one of the major cultures in our multicultural society. To become aware of the key elements of divergence would mean the teacher would be taking the first steps toward learning the student's language. Real communication is always within reach, but better and more extensive programs and materials must be developed for teacher training.

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APPENDIX A

Methods of Collecting Afro-American English Examples

Pilot Tests

Methods of Collecting Afro-American English Examples

Material was collected over a fifteen year period, with Afro-American English statements heard in various parts of the United States, but primarily in Chicago and in Houston. Statements made in Chicago, when duplicated in Houston, were chosen; otherwise, only statements made in Houston were used in this study. Statements which duplicated those which had proven interesting to other linguists were chosen whenever possible. All material which had been adapted by the Mainstream culture was avoided.

Collection was made by tape, augmented by shorthand notes, and, when possible, by immediate phonetic alphabet to ensure pronunciation and intonation. A small notebook was kept in hand at all times, and a small tape recorder was hung from the wrist or belt.

Conversations conducted on buses, and at bus stops were taped. Buses taken at 3:30 proved to be an excellent source of material since school children were let out of school around that time. No conversations while actually in school were available.

Conversations conducted by groups of Afro-Americans who gathered around the doorstep of the family below me in the apartment complex where I lived were taped by setting the tape recorder in an open window. Additional information was gathered when children came to my apartment to visit. I was usually the only white person on the buses, which serve Black neighborhoods, and I was the only white person living in the area, not only in the very large apartment complex, but in the area surrounding it. The source group was extremely large and varied, since a Washateria within ten feet of my apartment was used by everyone within a four or five block radius.

All material used in the TCOAD was verified by being stated more than once, either in exact duplication or in a statement which was syntactically similar to others made by Afro-American English speakers when they were unaware they were being taped.

Examples felt suitable for testing were chosen and Afro-American English speaking informants were told what type of taping session was being asked of them. The researcher read the situation and the

Afro-American English speaker then spoke the lines which had been discussed just prior to taping each situation. The Afro-American English speech was not read, but "memorized" by the informant so that it would be stated in as natural a manner as possible. This was a tiring procedure so that one informant became exhausted and it was found that more informants were needed. The result was a tape consisting of approximately one-third of the fifty situations per each Afro-American English speaker.

The children were much better "actors" than were the older high school students, who sometimes "fluffed" their lines and taping had to be done again. The children never missed their lines. The older students being more ill at ease was an indication of the tension they must surely feel when they are required to speak in classrooms containing a majority of whites. Even though they were on friendly terms with me and had helped in various translations of items I had not understood, and even though they had been in my apartment numbers of times, they still tensed up.

The taped reel was then processed to clear up extra noise, particularly the turning off and on of the recorder. A duplicate of the original cassette was then made. When playing the cassettes for the subjects, it was found that the duplicated tape should be played first, and the original tape played second as the original tape was clearer and easier to understand. Two "original" tapes would have been better.

At the time the study was being written, the informants were told about the work being done, and the reasons for it being undertaken. Not one single remark was made, but there was no withdrawing from me, for which I was grateful, having lived comfortably in the neighborhood for five years. I am still, however, "Miss Coe."

Pilot Tests

Three pilot tests were run. Initially, fifteen teachers were gathered around a tape recorder with a unit which permitted fifteen individual earphones. Each teacher was isolated by using a set of earphones, so that conversation was impossible. Before hearing the recording only once, a card was used in an overhead projector showing the imbedded Afro-American English statement to be heard on the tape. The card was removed; one situation on the tape was played; and time was then given for translations to be made before continuing the process.

This process proved to be very tiring for the participants as the lights had to be turned off for clear viewing of the cards, and each situation being played only once kept the subjects tense. In addition, no desks were available for use in writing, and the effort of trying to keep the headphones on while tipping the head to write in a notebook held either in the lap or on the arm of a desk-chair proved a distraction for the subjects. Turning off and on the lights so that the cards could be clearly seen made vision adjustment difficult and added to the tenseness of the subjects.

During the first pilot test, three statements proved to be ineffective, two of them having been incorporated as slang into Mainstream English, and one being completely missed by everyone. It was decided that the one being completely missed by all subjects was probably "country" or "flat" and not pertinent to the Houston area.

The second pilot test was conducted with cards and with earphones as before, but in a lighted room, with more time given for reading the cards. This took much too long and could not be done in 50 or 55 minutes of class time. It was decided to dispense with the cards and to make a duplicate of the original tape in order to play each situation back-to-back. This was also felt to make the test a more completely oral comprehension instrument and more nearly like a classroom situation than if the language were presented in written form. The order of the question/situations was changed to ease tension, interspersing those which seemed to be more difficult with those which seemed to be easier to comprehend.

The third pilot test was conducted without cards and without earphones, using a tape recorder on each side of the classroom, playing each situation first on one recorder and then on the other recorder. No cards were used, and no lights had to be turned on and off. In addition, the subjects could remain at their tables in the same positions they had chosen in the classroom. The atmosphere was greatly improved as to lack of tenseness, and a feeling of friendly competitiveness seemed to prevail to an extent impossible in a darkened room or in an individually isolated situation. The personal questionnaire had been shortened by deleting questions where the answers were beginning to show a lack of pertinance to the problems being studied, or considered unnecessary for information that might be important for future studies.

The personal questionnaire was simplified so that a minimum of writing was required, but still eliciting the information felt necessary to the study, thus shortening the time required for filling out the personal questionnaire and allowing more time for the translation part of the test. The actual test was basically the same as that used in the third pilot test.

Analysis of the data collected showed more specific information given when blank spaces were furnished for checking suitable answers than when a question to be answered with a written "yes" or "no" or "how many years" or "what percentage" was required. The questionnaire was modified toward checking possible answers rather than writing out such answers. The result was a more clear-cut reply sheet easier to tally. An example was percentage of Afro-Americans in classes taught. However, exact age was requested verbally in the pre-test orientation lecture, since it was felt that increments of five years might not show an exact break, were there one, in the amount of comprehension in relation to age. This request was followed except for two women who marked 40+ with a check mark rather than to give exact ages. This, however, proved to be of little or no consequence.

What proved to be of some interest, although not in relation to a hypothesis, was the change made for the third pilot test, and ultimately used in the actual test. The request for how well a foreign language was known, with a breakdown as to reading, listening, writing, and complete control (which would include speaking), gave added information.

Having completely finished the full study, it is now considered that the question as to how well the subject knows a foreign language is not as pertinent to the test of comprehension of Afro-American English as would be a question related to how well the subject knew a language: how long the subject had studied the language, or was learning a foreign language difficult for the subject. This, however, did not appear during the pilot studies when smaller groups were used.

APPENDIX B

Example of the TCOAD

- Personal Questionnaire
- Situation Questionnaire

Transcript of the Situations

Situation Ratings

- Good/Adequate Answers
- No/Inadequate Answers

Scoring Sheets of Raters

Test Identification (The last three digits of your Social Security Number ___________ (If no SS #, the last four digits of your telephone number.)

TESTS FOR DOCTORAL THESIS OF ELIZABETH BEAUBIEN COE FOR:

1. Personal Information
2. Comprehension of Afro-American English

TITLE OF DISSERTATION:

ASSESSING AFRO-AMERICAN ENGLISH
COMPREHENSION BY STUDENT TEACHERS WHOSE
MOTHER TONGUE IS MAINSTREAM ENGLISH

I.D._________________

TRANSLATION SHEETS FOR FREE TRANSLATIONS OF FIFTY SITUATIONAL QUESTIONS.

Directions: You will be listening to a tape containing fifty micro-situations. Each situation will consist of a circumstance which could easily occur in a school situation. In addition to the circumstance being given, there will be an insertion of an utterance by a student speaking Afro-American English. You are to write a translation of the Afro-American English utterance into Mainstream English. Please do not use slang expressions.

*Mainstream English is defined as that English which is used in speaking Standard English. It is not as formal as written Standard English. It also varies from one geographical area to another, and varies in formality from one situation to another. However, its grammatical construction is that of Standard English.

Method: You will hear fifty situations/questions. Each situation consists of the circumstances which elicit an utterance from a student. The circumstances are spoken by a Mainstream English speaker. The utterances are spoken by Afro-American English speakers. Each situation will be played, via tape, two times. After each situation has been played twice, you will translate the Afro-American English portion only of the transcribed situation/question.

The tape will be stopped while you write in Mainstream English what you believe to have the same meaning, or as close to the same meaning as you can get, as the utterance in Afro-American English. Time will be given until all those taking part in this testing have completed their translations. (Each translation may be one sentence or may seem to you to require four or five sentences. It is essential that you make your translation as clear as possible.)

Each situation will not be repeated more than the initial two times.

When all individuals have finished writing, the next situation will be given in the same manner as that used in Situation 1. This process will continue through fifty situations.

When all participants have concluded their translation of Situation 50, the questionaires will be collected. There will be no time given to go back and change any response from that which was initially written as a translation at the time the situation was given.

PLEASE KEEP BOTH PERSONAL QUESTIONNAIRE AND TRANSLATION SHEETS STAPLED TOGETHER. Check to see that your Identification Number is on your personal questionnaire and on your answer sheets.

PERSONAL QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS ID#____________

AGE GROUP:	21-30___	SEX:	M___	ETHNIC GROUP:	Latino___
	31-40___		F___		Afro-Am.___
	Over 41___				Am. Ind.___
					Oriental___
DEGREES:	________				Caucasian___
	________				Mid.-Eastern___
	________				Other (Specify)__________

LANGUAGES (Other than Mother Tongue):

Lang.__________ Listen.Comp.___ Read.Comp.___ Complete Control___

Lang.__________ Listen.Comp.___ Read.Comp.___ Complete Control___

Lang.__________ Listen.Comp.___ Read.Comp.___ Complete Control___

Lang.__________ Listen.Comp.___ Read.Comp.___ Complete Control___

Do you consider Afro-American English (Check one):

A sub-standard form of Mainstream (Standard) English?_____

Simply a different dialect of Mainstream English?________

A language related to, but different from, English?_______

If you know some Afro-American English, where did you learn it?

____

Indicate how well you feel you understand Afro-American English.

Not at all (0 - 25%)_____

Fairly well (25 - 50%)_____

Quite well (50 - 75%)_____

Completely (75 - 100%)_____

How many grammar courses have you taken?_____ Linguistic?_____

Years of teaching experience?_____

Have you taught in areas other than Houston; if so, where and how long?______________________________

Have you ever taught a class almost 100% Afro-American; if so, how long?__________ 66% Afro-Am.?__________ 33% Afro-Am.?__________

ID #______________________

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6

7.

ID# ____________________

8.

50.

Situations

1. Asked if he were going to have his paper ready by Friday, the student replied: I'm designin' on it.

2. A friend passed a student who was cleaning out his locker and remarked: You right smart.

3. A student was asked by his friend if he had been angry when the teacher had accidentally spilled ink on his paper. The student replied: She clean up after it.

4. One student was angry at another, remarking: You don't let nothin' pass.

5. When asked why he was angry, the student explained: He always lay somethin' on somebody.

6. A student maintained he had turned in his paper. The teacher asked him to do it again since she had no record of it. The student replied: I ain' goin' do it.

7. Asked if he were going to go to the high school dance, a student replied: Ain' got no funs.

8. When one student had been elected King of the All School Party, the teacher asked how Darrell, who had been a runner-up, had felt about losing, a friend replied: Darrell don' be mad.

9. When asked how his brother had become so good at playing the trumpet, a boy replied: He prone in to it.

10. Asked why one of the students was late returning to class from having been to the library, a student explained: He be waitin' on a frien' book.

11. A student was talking about leaving school to go to work. The teacher didn't want him to. The boy's friend explained to her: He have a min' to do it.

12. There was a class discussion about a TV show and someone was admiring the hero. One of the boys remarked: I coulda did that what he did 'n it.

13. Asked where he got his "bad temper," a boy replied: I been had it for some time.

14. Talking about the personality of one of the girls in the class, a boy remarked: She cold nature'.

15. Talking about white people, a boy remarked: Ain' goin' git in they min' they change 'cause they ain'.

16. A child had been asked to deliver a message to another classroom. A short time later the little girl came back to the teacher and said: I taken it.

17. A child was putting books back in place on a shelf but there didn't seem to be enough space for the last book. Another child advised: Well, presh on it.

18. The teacher couldn't locate one of her children. A little girl told her: There he go hin' you back.

19. Asked if anyone in her family had visited school before, the child replied: My sister he been stay here.

20. Some of the better students were tutoring students who needed help in arithmetic problems. The teacher was going around checking various groups at work. At the first group, the tutor stated: They been know'.

21. At the second group, one of the children said: I'm a do 'em.

22. A child had been sick and had asked to go home. After lunch the child was absent from class. Asking if anyone knew where he was, two children replied:
(First child): He done gone home.
(Second child): Unh-unh! He down in the office; he went home.

23. A little girl asked one of the other students to go home with her after school. The child replied: Where you house is.

24. Asked if she ate lunch at school, a child replied: I been use to go to my house.

25. Another child remarked: I ain' ate at my house.

26. A third child entered the conversation, saying: I ain' never ate at my house.

27. Some children were fussing, making faces at each other and calling each other names. One of them was heard to say: Don't you be fixin' you mouf on me!

28. Reading about a sad incident in a story, a child admitted: I was gettin' ready to cry.

29. Two little girls were arguing loudly and one told the other: Don' you go hollerin' at me.

30. The other child replied: Don' you be hollerin' at me.

31. The first child replied: Don' you go be hollerin' at me.

32. A child who had been absent from school with a cold had returned to school but was sent to the nurse's office. She explained to the nurse: I be done start coughin'.

33. Asked what all the noise in the hallway was about, a child explained: I's ki's aroun'.

34. Asked why she didn't open her book as directed, a child replied: I ono where i's at.

35. The child sitting next to her looked at her and said: I ain' know where i's at.

36. Some kittens had been lost. The next day, when asked if they had been found, the child replied: They was up in the tree that be by us.

37. One girl seemed to know all the answers. Another girl stated: She can' wait for no kin' a turn.

38. Two girls were arguing. One of them remarked: I ain' goin' put no hurt on you.

39. Asked what her mother did since she was not home during the day, a girl replied: My momma she spote h'sef.

40. Talking about the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, a girl stated: It grave ev'body that been in there.

41. In the principal's office, explaining about her grades, a girl admitted: Mr. Smith I got a "F" in his class one time.

42. Asked what she was doing in the afternoon, a girl replied: I be here.

43. Asked how she was doing on her final exams, a student replied: All I gotta do is get to the first basic.

44. One of the students who had been driving to school had had her car repossessed. Talking about it, she said: I got used 've it.

45. One girl was chiding another for not answering her. Her friend replied: I'm real unconscious right about now.

46. Asked if she were going to get a new school sweater after school, a girl replied she was and that: He goin' put me one in the ba' roon.

47. Talking about having her hair done, a girl remarked: I want to have it done with extenditures.

48. Talking about where her father worked, a girl explained: My father he work at the outside the cou'thouse.

49. Talking about a date she had had over the weekend, a girl commented: He's bat!

50. The school movie projector wouldn't work. One of the students advised: You frouges gon'.

Situation Ratings

Those Situations which were rated as having been translated most nearly correct were 2 or 3, with 3 being the higher rating. They have been combined for the following table since a 2 was considered to be adequate for communication purposes except in the most exacting circumstances. This table is the reverse of 0 or 1.

Question/Situation Number	Number of Subjects who were Rated 2 of 3 (Those who gave good or adequate translations)
26. I ain' never ate at my house.	49
12. I coulda did that what he did 'n it.	48
16. I taken it.	47
17. Well, presh on it!	47
24. I bin use to go to my house.	47
23. Where you house is.	46
42. I be here.	46
13. I been had it for some time.	45
22. (First child:) He done gone home. (Second child:) Unh-unh! He down in the office; he went home.	44

Question/Situation Number	Number of Subjects Rated 2 or 3
25. I ain' ate at my house.	44
33. I's ki's aroun'.	44
48. My father he work at the outside the cou'thouse.	43
7. Ain' got no funs.	39
38. I ain' goin' put no hurt on you.	38
37. She can' wait for no kin' a turn.	36
32. I be done star' coughin'.	35
49. He's bat!	35
11. He have a min' to do it.	33
46. He goin' put me one in the ba'roon.	32
20. They been know'.	29
8. Darrell don' be mad.	28
18. There he go hin' you back.	28
10. He be waitin' on a frien' book.	24
19. My sister he been stay here.	24
6. I ain' goin' do it.	23
36. They was up in the tree that be by us.	23
34. I ono where i's at.	22
41. Mister Smith I got a "F" in his class one time.	19

Question/Situation Number	Number of Subjects Rated 2 or 3
39. My momma she spote he'se'f.	18
50. You frouge is gon'.	17
9. He prone in to it.	16
4. You don' let nothin' pass.	
45. I'm real unconscious right about now.	14
15. Ain' goin' git in they min' they change 'cause they ain'.	12
27. Don' you be fixin' you mouf on me!	11
35. I ain' know where i's at.	11
3. She clean up after it.	10
21. I'ma do 'em.	10
5. He always lay somethin' on somebody.	9
44. I got used 've it.	9
43. All I gotta do is get to the first basic.	8
1. I'm designin' on it.	6
30. Don' you be hollerin at me.	6
28. I was gettin' ready to cry.	4
29. Don' you go hollerin' at me.	3
31. Don' you go be hollerin' at me.	3
47. I want to have it done with extenditures.	3

Question/Situation Number	Number of Subjects Rated 2 or 3
14. She cold nature'.	1
2. You right smart.	0
40. It grave ev'body that been in there.	0

Question/Situation Number		Number of Subjects Who were Rated 0 to 1 (Those who Gave no Answer or an Inadequate Answer)
2.	You right smart.	50
40.	It grave ev'body that been in there.	50
14.	She cold nature'.	49
29.	Don' you go hollerin' at me.	47
31.	Don' you go be hollerin' at me.	47
47.	I want to have it done with extenditures.	47
28.	I was gettin' ready to cry.	46
1.	I'm designin' on it.	44
30.	Don' you be hollerin' at me.	44
43.	All I gotta do is get to the first basic.	42
5.	He always lay somethin' on somebody.	41
44.	I got used 've it.	41
3.	She clean up after it.	40
21.	I'ma do 'em.	40
27.	Don' you be fixin' you mouf on me!	39
35.	I ain' know where i's at.	39
15.	Ain' goin' git in they min' they change 'cause they ain'.	38

Question/Situation Number	Number of Subjects Rated 0 to 1
45. I'm real unconscious right about now.	36
4. You don' let nothin' pass.	35
9. He prone in to it.	34
50. You frouges gone.	33
39. My momma she spote he'se'f.	32
41. Mister Smith, I got a "F" in his class one time.	31
34. I ono where i's at.	28
6. I ain' goin' do it.	27
36. They was up in the tree that be by us.	27
10. He be waitin' on a frien' book.	26
19. My sister he been stay here.	26
8. Darrel don' be mad.	22
18. There he go hin' you back.	22
20. They been know'.	21
46. He goin' put me one in the ba'roon.	18
11. He have a min' to do it.	17
32. I be done star' coughin'	15
49. He's bat!	15
37. She can' wait for no kin' a turn.	14

Question/Situation Number	Number of Subjects Rated 0 to 1
38. I ain' goin' put no hurt on you.	12
7. Ain' got no funs.	11
48. My father he work at the outside the cou'thouse.	7
22. (First child:) He done gone home. (Second child:) Unh-unh! He down in the office; he went home.	6
25. I ain' ate at my house.	6
33. I's ki's aroun.'	6
13. I been had it for some time.	5
23. Where you house is.	4
42. I be here.	4
16. I taken it.	3
17. Well, presh on it!	3
24. I been use to go to my house.	3
12. I coulda did that what he did 'n it.	2
26. I ain' never ate at my house.	1

SCORING SHEET

Team I II III   AAE ME   Circle your team number and mother tongue.

	Qn No	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
I'm designin' on it.	1																																																			1
You right smart.	2																																																			2
She clean up after it.	3																																																			3
You don' let nothin' pass.	4																																																			4
He always lay somethin' on somebody..	5																																																			5
I ain' goin' do it.	6																																																			6
Ain' got no fun's.	7																																																			7
Darrel don' be mad.	8																																																			8
He prone into it.	9																																																			9
He be waitin' on a frien' book.	10																																																			10
He have a min' to do it.	11																																																			11
I couldn' did that what he did 'n it.	12																																																			12
I been had it for some time.	13																																																			13
She cold nature.	14																																																				14
Ain' goin' get in they ain' they change...	15																																																			15
I taken it.	16																																																			16
Fresh on it.	17																																																			17
There he go bin' you back.	18																																																			18
My sister he been stay here.	19																																																			19
They been knowed.	20																																																				20
I'm a do 'em.	21																																																			21
He done gone home/...he went home.	22																																																			22
where you house lef.	23																																																			23
I been use' to go to my house.	24																																																			24
I ain' ate at my house.	25																																																			25
I ain' never ate at my house.	26																																																			26
Don' you be fixin' you mouf on me!	27																																																			27
I was gettin' ready to cry.	28																																																			28
Don' you go hollerin' at me.	29																																																			29
Don' you be hollerin' at me.	30																																																			30
Don' you go be hollerin' at me.	31																																																			31
I be done start coughin'.	32																																																			32
I's hi's cousin'.	33																																																			33
I see where I's at.	34																																																			34
I ain't know where I's at.	35																																																			35
They was up in the tree that be by us.	36																																																			36
She can' wait for no kin' a turn.	37																																																			37
I ain' goin' put no hurt on you.	38																																																			38
My mama she spank h'sef.	39																																																			39
It gross ev'body that been in there.	40																																																			40
Mr. Smith I got a "F" in his class....	41																																																			41
I be here.	42																																																			42
All I gotta do is get to the first base.	43																																																			43
I got used 'to it.	44																																																			44
I'm real unconscious right about now.	45																																																			45
He goin' put on one in the back room.	46																																																			46
I want to have it done with outconditures.	47																																																			47
My father he work at the outside....	48																																																			48
He's bad!	49																																																			49
You trespass gone.	50																																																			50

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APPENDIX C

Team Ratings

- Individual Team Ratings
- Correct Scores per Subject
    - Table and Graph
- Incorrect Scores per Subject
    - Table and Graph
- Correct Scores per Question
    - Table and Graph
- Incorrect Scores per Question
    - Table and Graph
- Score Sheet

Table 3

Team Ratings on Each Question/Situation per Subject

	Team I: Male CG				Team II: Fem. HS				Team III: Male HS			
Subject	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
1	12	73	7	8	12	78	0	10	12	76	2	10
2	4	95	1	0	4	0	0	0	4	96	0	0
3	0	80	6	14	0	80	4	16	0	81	2	17
4	0	73	9	18	0	70	10	20	0	55	30	15
5	20	74	4	4	20	66	6	8	20	50	26	4
6	0	67	4	29	0	52	10	38	0	44	22	34
7	0	18	0	82	0	22	2	76	0	22	1	77
8	0	20	10	70	0	54	22	24	0	58	32	10
9	16	34	15	35	16	35	16	33	16	84	0	0
10	2	55	8	35	2	58	6	34	2	35	25	38
11	2	29	7	62	2	32	10	56	2	32	10	56
12	0	6	83	11	0	6	66	28	0	4	52	44
13	0	9	64	27	0	12	46	42	0	10	21	69
14	2	98	0	0	2	96	0	2	2	97	0	1
15	4	55	17	24	4	78	6	12	4	82	2	12
16	0	3	2	95	0	8	0	92	0	6	0	94
17	0	8	8	84	0	13	2	85	0	9	6	85
18	6	24	2	68	6	47	2	45	6	47	0	47
19	14	38	10	38	14	34	8	44	14	42	4	40
20	0	42	14	44	0	43	9	48	0	40	4	56
21	0	85	5	10	0	76	2	22	0	77	0	23
22	0	7	28	65	0	14	50	36	0	17	59	24
23	0	8	2	90	0	8	4	88	0	10	1	89
24	0	8	16	76	0	8	12	80	0	4	2	94
25	0	11	0	89	0	12	2	86	0	10	5	85

(table continues)

	Team I: Male CG				Team II: Fem. HS				Team III: Male HS			
Subject	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
26	0	4	0	96	0	2	0	98	0	2	0	98
27	10	70	12	8	10	74	8	8	10	60	18	12
28	0	96	0	4	0	92	2	6	0	90	3	7
29	0	94	0	6	0	100	0	0	0	89	3	8
30	0	90	4	6	0	88	4	8	0	83	6	11
31	0	98	2	0	0	98	2	0	0	86	6	8
32	0	29	45	26	0	28	44	28	0	32	20	48
33	0	7	5	88	0	16	18	66	0	14	16	70
34	14	24	2	60	14	34	18	34	14	65	0	21
35	0	75	6	19	0	79	4	17	0	81	3	16
36	2	52	14	42	2	53	15	30	2	58	10	30
37	0	27	32	41	0	32	28	40	0	29	32	39
38	0	42	27	31	0	14	54	32	0	15	57	28
39	32	12	0	56	32	12	0	56	32	12	7	49
40	12	88	0	0	12	88	0	0	12	88	0	0
41	0	61	39	0	0	62	36	2	0	63	34	3
42	0	9	8	83	0	7	6	87	0	13	3	84
43	4	72	6	18	4	84	0	12	4	84	0	12
44	0	78	4	18	0	84	6	10	0	84	12	4
45	2	50	31	17	2	80	10	8	2	78	13	7
46	6	28	4	62	6	30	14	50	6	32	15	47
47	16	81	1	2	16	82	0	2	16	76	8	0
48	0	16	50	34	0	14	56	30	0	14	57	29
49	28	20	20	52	0	30	18	52	0	29	12	59
50	20	46	6	28	20	40	8	32	20	50	4	26
Totals	200	2285	640	1875	200	2421	646	1733	200	2415	645	1740

Note perfect agreement of the Raters on Q/S #40:

It grave ever'body that's been in there.

Table 4

Percent Correct Scores per Subject on all Questions/Situations

1.	57.9
2.	67.6
3.	58.7
4.	67.8
5.	45.8
6.	67.1
7.	62.1
8.	61.4
9.	52.3
10.	69.1
11.	53.9
12.	60.6
13.	69.7
14.	63.0
15.	67.2
16.	59.6
17.	56.3
18.	71.2
19.	62.0
20.	43.3
21.	49.3
22.	58.6
23.	67.2
24.	54.2
25.	59.8
26.	60.0
27.	56.1
28.	57.0
29.	55.4
30.	60.3
31.	59.4
32.	57.3
33.	61.7
34.	53.1
35.	63.6
36.	60.7
37.	60.7
38.	68.3
39.	65.2
40.	58.1
41.	64.2
42.	53.1
43.	61.0
44.	56.8
45.	67.9
46.	55.1
47.	53.2
48.	56.8
49.	64.9
50.	57.9

Graph 1.

Percent CORRECT Translations per Subject on All Questions.

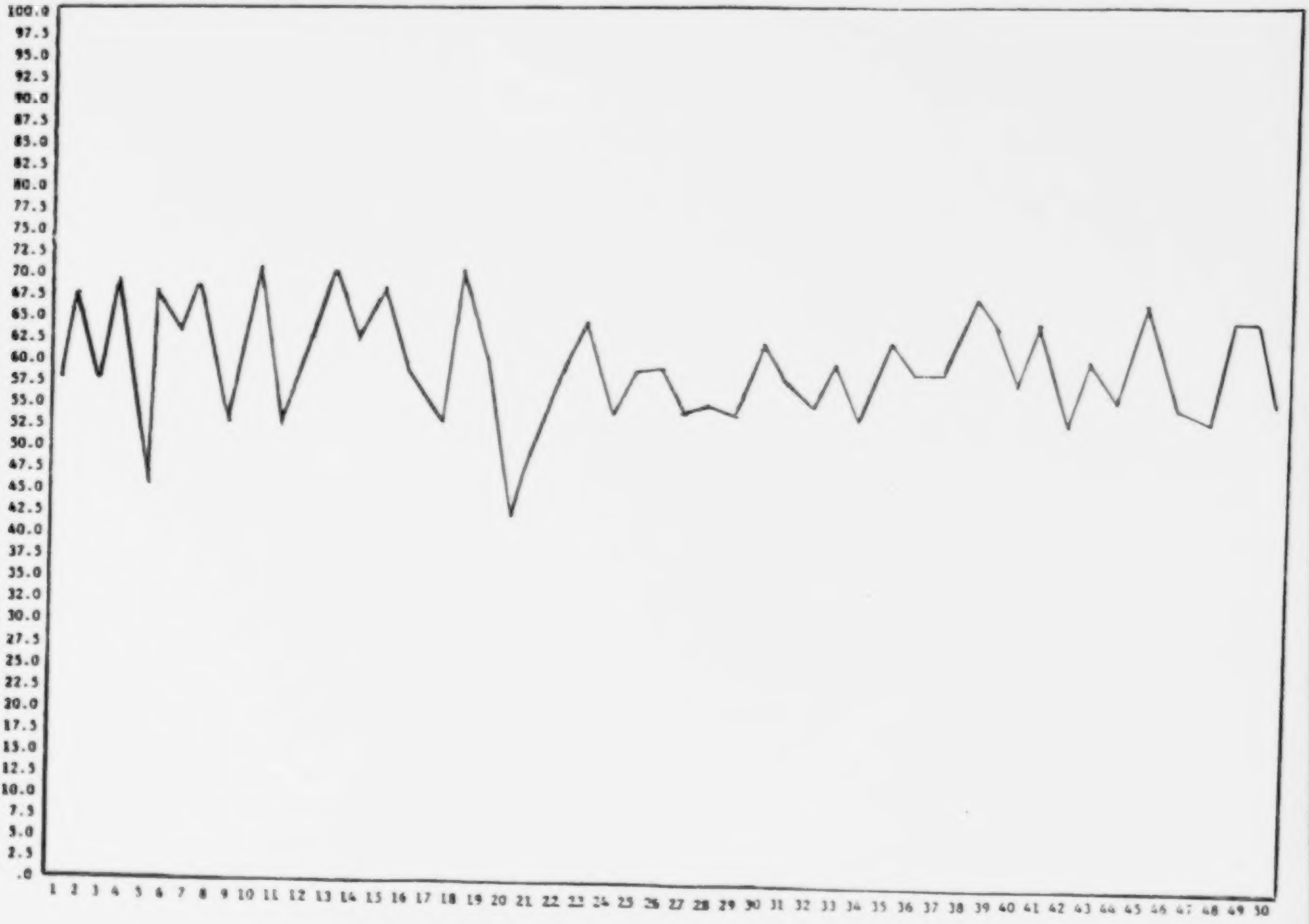

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Table 5

Percent Incorrect Scores per Subject on All Questions/Situations

1.	42.1	18.	28.8	35.	36.4
2.	32.4	19.	38.0	36.	39.3
3.	41.3	20.	56.7	37.	39.3
4.	32.2	21.	50.7	38.	31.7
5.	54.2	22.	41.4	39.	34.8
6.	36.9	23.	32.8	40.	41.9
7.	37.9	24.	45.8	41.	35.8
8.	38.6	25.	40.2	42.	46.9
9.	47.7	26.	40.0	43.	39.0
10.	38.9	27.	43.9	44.	43.2
11.	46.1	28.	43.0	45.	32.1
12.	39.4	29.	44.6	46.	44.9
13.	30.3	30.	39.7	47.	46.8
14.	37.0	31.	40.6	48.	43.2
15.	36.8	32.	42.7	49.	35.1
16.	40.4	33.	38.3	50.	42.1
17.	45.7	34.	46.9		

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Graph 2.
Percent INCORRECT Translations per Subject on All Questions.

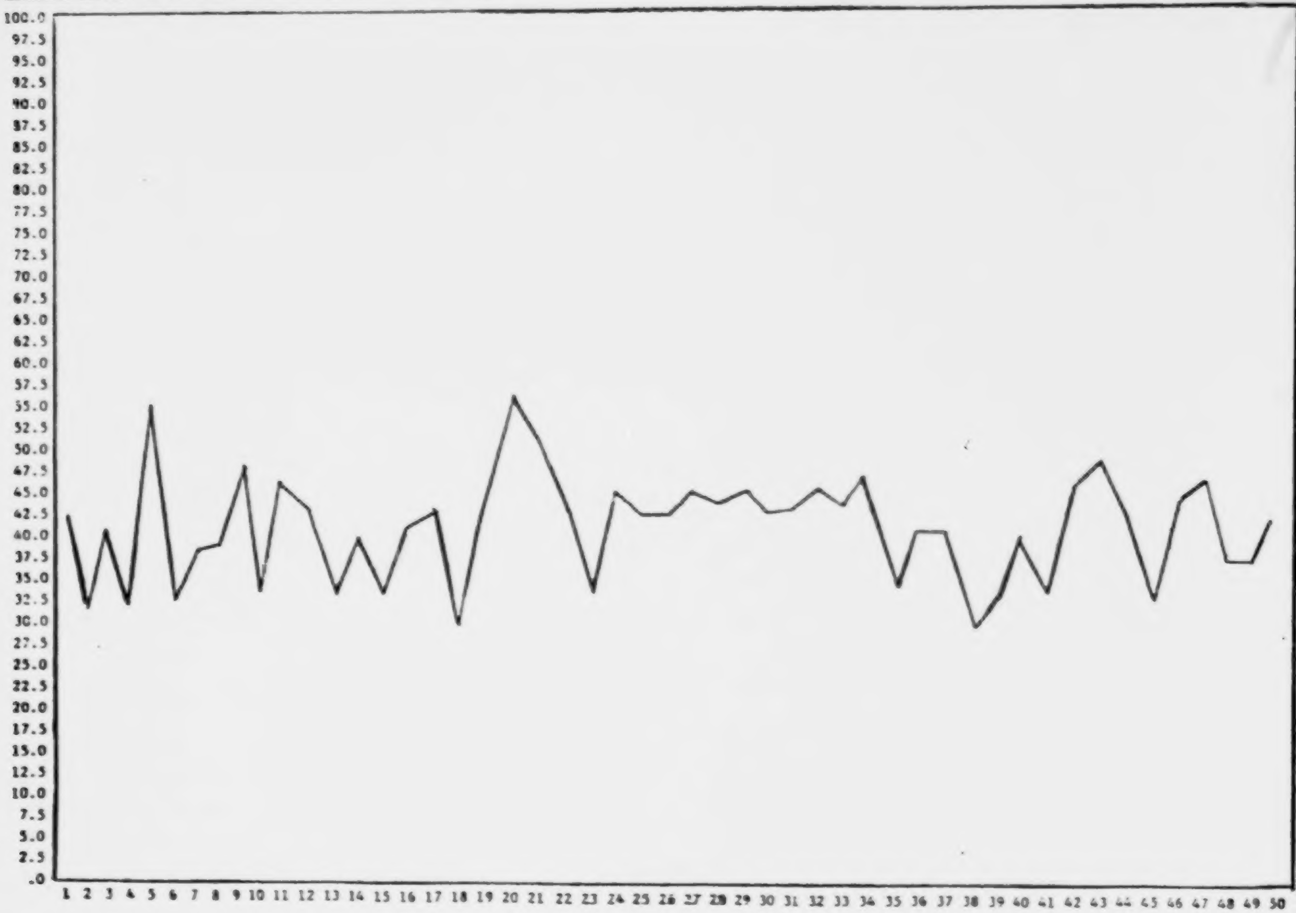

Table 6

Percent Correct Scores per Question/Situation by All Subjects

1.	36.6
2.	32.1
3.	45.1
4.	50.6
5.	34.2
6.	59.8
7.	85.9
8.	63.6
9.	46.6
10.	60.8
11.	74.3
12.	74.1
13.	78.6
14.	33.3
15.	45.4
16.	94.9
17.	91.6
18.	67.3
19.	58.2
20.	69.2
21.	46.3
22.	76.3
23.	93.4
24.	92.2
25.	91.9
26.	98.2
27.	40.4
28.	37.7
29.	35.7
30.	44.4
31.	36.2
32.	68.1
33.	87.4
34.	56.4
35.	46.3
36.	59.8
37.	70.2
38.	68.9
39.	59.2
40.	29.3
41.	46.5
42.	91.8
43.	42.0
44.	42.9
45.	45.8
46.	70.3
47.	29.9
48.	72.1
49.	75.1
50.	47.7

Graph 3.

Percent CORRECT Translations per Question by All Subjects.

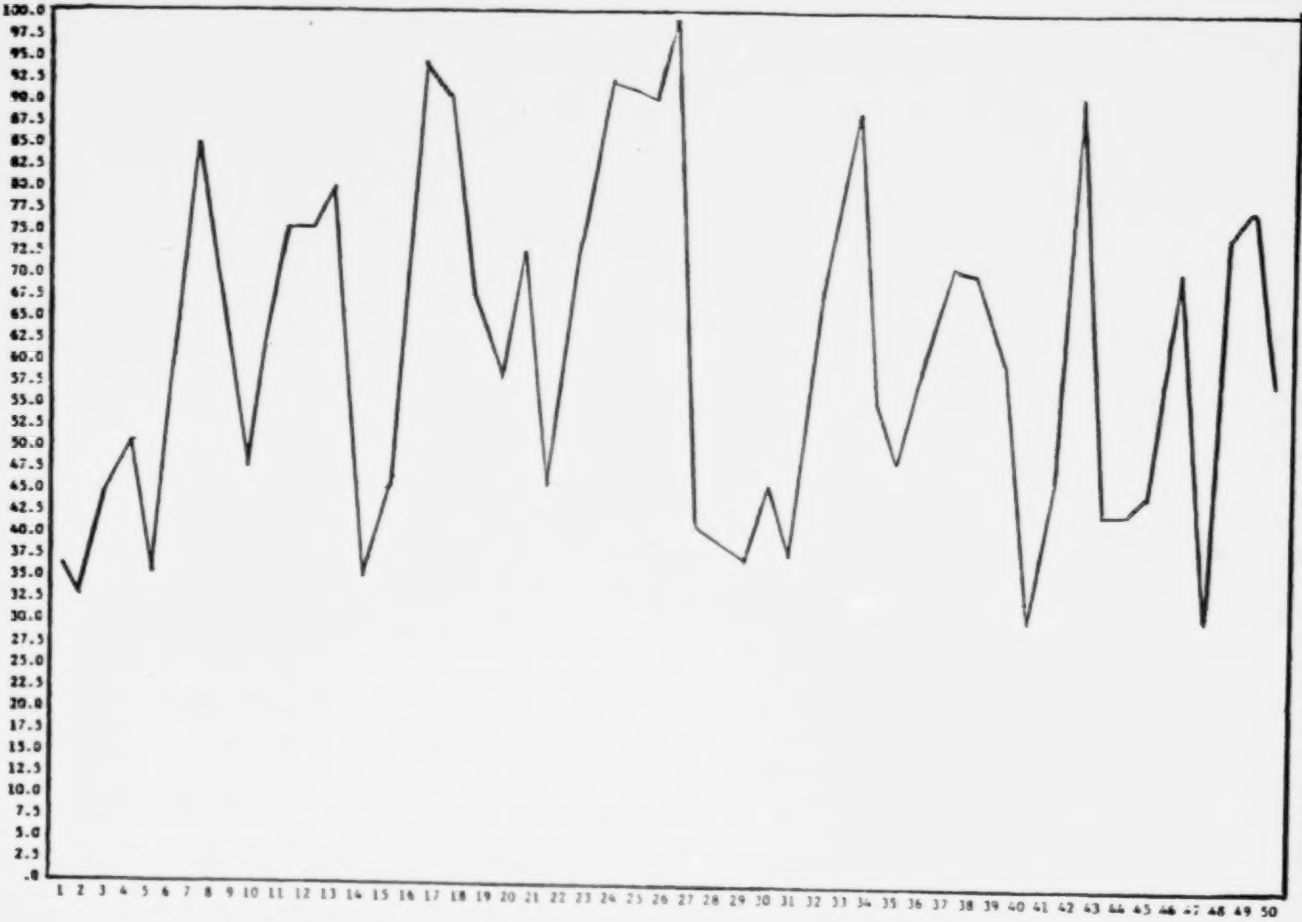

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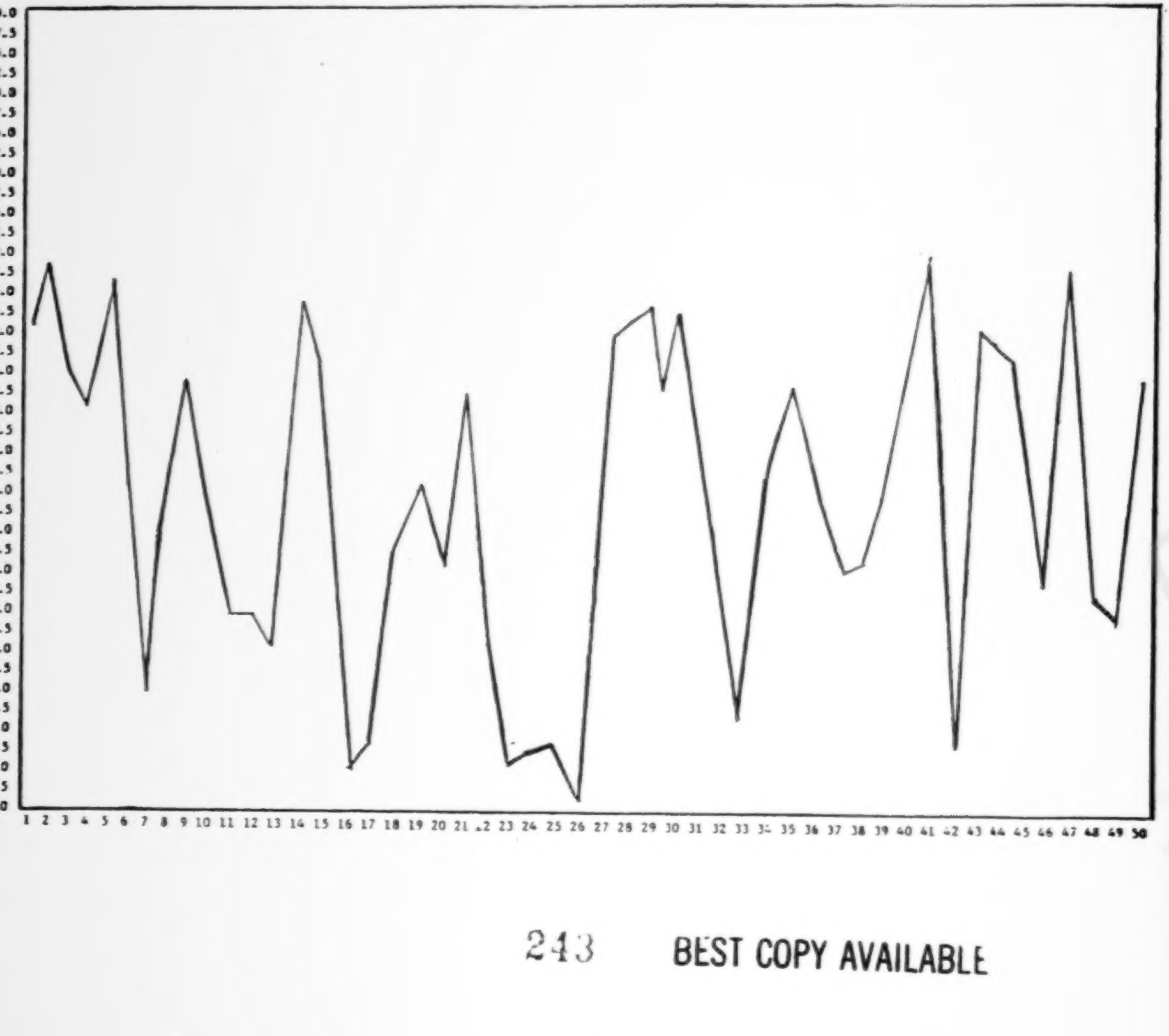
Table 7

Percent Incorrect Scores per Question/Situation by All Subjects

1.	63.4
2.	67.9
3.	54.9
4.	49.4
5.	65.8
6.	40.2
7.	14.1
8.	36.4
9.	53.4
10.	39.2
11.	25.7
12.	25.9
13.	21.4
14.	66.7
15.	54.6
16.	5.1
17.	8.4
18.	32.7
19.	41.8
20.	30.8
21.	53.7
22.	23.7
23.	6.6
24.	7.8
25.	8.1
26.	1.8
27.	59.6
28.	62.3
29.	64.3
30.	55.6
31.	63.8
32.	31.9
33.	12.6
34.	43.6
35.	53.7
36.	40.2
37.	29.8
38.	31.1
39.	40.8
40.	70.7
41.	53.5
42.	8.2
43.	58.0
44.	57.1
45.	54.2
46.	29.7
47.	70.1
48.	27.9
49.	24.9
50.	52.3

aph 4.

rcent INCORRECT Translations per Question by All Subjects.



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APPENDIX D

Subject Profiles

- Independent Variable Chart
- Extreme Score Profiles
  - Ten Highest Scorers
  - Ten Lowest Scorers

Table 2

Individual Subject's Results for Independent Variables

Subject ID	Attitude	Self-Eval.	Experience Tch. Ass.	Linguistic Courses	Grammar Courses	Foreign Lang. Study	Age	Sex	% Score	
1	SS	50%	2	0	1	Yes	32	F	57.9	
2	SS	75%	0	3	3	Yes	28	M	67.6	
3	DD	75%	0	1	2	Yes	29	M	58.7	
4	SS	50%	0	1	0	No	27	F	67.8	
5	SS	25%	0	1	1	Yes	32	F	45.8	
6	DD	75%	3	0	0	No	40	F	67.1	
7	SS	75%	0	5	2	Yes	24	F	62.7	
8	DD	50%	1	1	1	No	30	M	61.4	
9	SS	50%	2	1	1	Yes	26	F	52.3	
10	SS	50%	0	0	0	No	27	F	69.1	
11	DD	25%	0	2	2	No	22	M	53.9	
12	SS	50%	2	0	0	No	24	F	60.6	
13	DD	50%	6	1	4	Yes	33	F	69.7	
14	SS	50%	1	1	4	Yes	52	F	63.0	
15	--	50%	1	0	3	Yes	27	M	67.2	
16	SS	50%	3	0	4	No	37	M	59.6	
17	SS	50%	1	1	2	No	25	M	56.3	
18	DD	50%	5	2	3	No	48+	F	71.2	*
19	SS	50%	6	0	0	No	35+	F	62.0	*
20	DD	50%	0	1	2	No	26	M	43.3	

*Ages not specified by subjects; deduced from experience and education.

(table continues)

Subject ID	Attitude	Self-Eval.	Experience Tch. AAs.	Linguistic Courses	Grammar Courses	Foreign Lang. Study	Age	Sex	% Score	
21	DD	25%	0	0	0	No	26	F	49.3	
22	SS	50%	1	2	2	No	25	F	48.7	
23	DD	50%	3	3	1	Yes	33	F	67.2	
24	SS	75%	0	0	0	No	45	F	54.7	
25	DD	50%	7	1	2	No	28	F	59.8	
26	DD	0%	0	4	0	No	23	F	60.0	
27	SS	50%	0	0	2	Yes	27	F	56.1	
28	DD	25%	1	1	1	No	29	F	57.0	
29	DL	75%	3	0	2	No	39	M	55.4	
30	SS	50%	1	0	6	No	22	F	60.3	
31	SS	25%	2	0	4	No	27	F	59.4	
32	SS	50%	2	1	0	No	28	F	57.3	
33	DL	25%	0	1	1	No	32	F	61.7	
34	DL	50%	0	0	0	Yes	39	F	53.1	
35	DD	25%	1	0	4	No	41+	F	63.6	**
36	DD	50%	12	1	2	No	38	F	60.7	
37	SS	25%	0	1	0	No	31	M	60.7	
38	SS	25%	1	3	2	No	41+	F	68.3	**
39	SS	50%	1	1	2	No	42	F	53.2	
40	DD	50%	0	0	2	Yes	41+	F	58.1	**
41	DD	0%	0	10	0	Yes	29	F	64.2	
42	DD	50%	0	0	0	No	41	F	53.1	
43	SS	50%	0	2	2	No	28	F	61.0	

**Ages given by subjects as "over 41."

(table continues)

Subject ID	Attitude	Self-Eval.	Experience Tch. AAs.	Linguistic Courses	Grammar Courses	Foreign Lang. Study	Age	Sex	% Score
44	SS	50%	5	1	0	Yes	27	F	56.8
45	DD	50%	6	1	1	Yes	35	F	67.9
46	DD	25%	0	0	1	No	25	F	55.1
47	--	50%	1	1	1	No	23	F	53.2
48	DL	75%	5	0	1	Yes	26	F	64.9
49	DL	75%	0	0	1	No	35	F	64.9
50	DL	50%	9	0	2	No	35	F	57.9

PROFILES OF THE TOP TEN SUBJECTS:

1. Highest score: 71.2

   #18 Female

   Has taught 28 years

   Has taught 1½ years in a partially Black high school and 3 years in a totally Black high school

   Caucasian

   BS and MA

   2 linguistics courses

   3 grammar courses

   Did not give age but is probably 50+

   Has taught only in Texas

   Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

   Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

   Answered all questions with no zeros

   Knows no other languages

2. Score: 69.7

#13 Female

Has taught 10 years

Has taught in a 50% Black classroom 6 years

Latin ethnic background

AB

1 linguistics course

4 grammar courses

Age - 33

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Considered AAE as Different Dialect

*Did not answer all questions: had 2 zeros

(Had she answered all questions, even those with zeros with an incorrect answer, she would have had 1's instead of 0's for those 2 and would have, therefore, averaged 70.3)

Knows no other languages

3. Score: 69.1

#10 Female

Has taught 1 year

Has never taught Blacks

Caucasian

AB

No linguistics courses

No grammar courses

Age - 27

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Answered all questions with no zeros

Knows no other languages

4. Score: 68.3

#38 Female

Has taught 22 years

Has taught 1 year in an all Black school

Caucasian

AB and MA

3 linguistics courses

4 grammar courses

Age - 48

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 25%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Answered all questions with no zeros

Knows no other languages

5. Score: 67.9

#45 Female

Has taught 6 years

Has taught 6 years in an all Black school

Caucasian

AB

1 linguistics course

1 grammar course

Age - 31

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

Answered all questions with no zeros

Knows no other languages

6. Score: 67.8

#4 Female

Has taught 4 years

Has never taught Blacks

Caucasian

AB

1 linguistics course

No grammar courses

Age - 27

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Had a total of 2 zeros

Knows no other languages

7. Score: 67.6

#2 Male

Has taught 3 years

Has never taught Blacks

Caucasian

BS

1 linguistics course

3 grammar courses

Age - 29

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 75%

Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

Had 1 zero

Has complete control of Spanish and is able to read French

8. Score: 67.2

#15 Male

Has taught 3 years

Has taught 1 year in a 1/3 Black classroom

Caucasian

AB

No linguistics courses

3 grammar courses

Age - 27

Has taught in California

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Had no zeros

Has complete control of French

9. Score: 67.2

#23 Female

Has taught 3 years

Has taught 3 years in an all Black school

Caucasian

AB

3 linguistics courses

1 grammar course

Age - 33

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

Had no zeros

Can understand spoken Spanish and can read but not write it

10. Score: 67.1

#6 Female

Has taught 4 years

Has taught 3 years in an 80% Black school

Caucasian

AB and MA

No linguistics courses

No grammar courses

Age - 40

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 75%

Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

Had 4 zeros

Knows no other languages

Notice that #6 would have been rated higher (4th highest) on a rating scale where the rating for no answer and for a wrong answer was zero.

DIFFERENT SCORING (0-1-2)

Results would have been:

#18 Highest score	(0-1-2-3 Scoring)	Highest #18
#13		#13
#10		#10
#6		#38
#4		#45
#38		#4
#45		#2
#2	#6 would have been 10th from the highest, rather than 4th from the highest as in Scoring 0-1-2	
#23		#23
#15		#15
		#6

There is a break in scoring between those receiving the top ten scores and those receiving the 11th highest scores, with the tenth scores being more than 1.5% higher than the eleventh scores in both groups. The top ten scores in 0-1-2 and 0-1-2-3 scoring were the same, although there was a slightly different order. The difference lay in #6 having left blanks, rather than in making some sort of translation, even a "wrong" one.

Profile of the Top Ten Scorers

Of the top ten scorers, 8 were female and 2 were male. Of the 50 Subjects, 40 were female, 10 male.

Teaching experience ranged from 1 to 28 years: the mode was 3 years; the median was 14.5 years, and the mean was 4 years.

Of the top ten scorers, 3 had never taught in a classroom containing as much as 25% Afro-American students; 2 had taught classes containing as much as 50% Afro-American students; and 5 had taught in 75%-100% Afro-American classes. Of those 5, 4 had taught in 100% Afro-American classes.

Where teachers teach in schools with 75-100% Afro-American classes, the probability is that the entire school is reflected in the same proportions, giving an extensive opportunity to hear, listen to, and learn the language of most of the student body.

All Subjects were of Caucasian ethnic/racial background, with the exception being of 1 Subject of Latin ethnic/racial background. Her native language was Mainstream English.

All but 2 had had a linguistics course, the top 7 scorers having taken linguistics. The maximum number of courses taken was 3.

All but 3 had had some grammar courses, the top 2 having had at least 3 grammar courses.

Of the top 10 scorers, 8 had had either grammar courses or linguistics courses, the third highest and the 10th highest having had neither linguistics nor grammar courses.

Ages ranged between 27 and 50. The mode was 27 years of age, the median was 38.5 (using 50 as the maximum age) and the mean was 34.5. The Subject judged to be 50 left space with no exact age given. However, it was clear that the Subject had to have reached at least 50 in order to have taught 28 years and to have received both a BS and an MA.

Of the ten top scorers, 9 had taught only in Texas, with the 1 top scorer having also taught in California.

Self-evaluations were made from 25% to 75%, 1 judging herself to comprehend 25%, 7 judging themselves as comprehending 50%, and 2 judging themselves as comprehending as much as 75%. The top scorer judged herself as comprehending 50%, but was able to translate at 71.2%, closer to 75%. The others all comprehended Afro-American English at 67.1% or better. Those who over-judged their comprehension were 4th, 7th and 10th. The Subject self-evaluating comprehension at 25% under-judged herself, being 7th.

Four of the ten top scorers considered Afro-American English to be substandard English, 6 as a different dialect, with none of the top ten scorers considering it to be a different language.

Efforts to make translations in general were greater for the top ten scorers than were those for the lowest ten scorers. Six of the top ten scorers left no statements untranslated; 1 had 1 zero; 2 had 2 zeroes, and 1 had 4 zeroes.

There may be some sigifnicant information relative to making an attempt at a translation. This could be a characteristic of the "good" student (where no penalty was given for making a guess), or it could be a true reflection that more was understood by those Subjects who had few zeroes.

Of the top ten scorers, 7 knew no other language, 1 has complete control of Spanish and is able to read French, 1 has complete control of French, and 1 Subject can understand spoken Spanish and can read Spanish, but cannot write it.

PROFILES OF THE BOTTOM TEN SUBJECTS:

10. Lowest Score: 43.4%

#20 Male

Has taught 3 years

Has never taught in a class containing AAE speakers

Caucasian

AB

1 linguistics course

2 grammar courses

Age - 26

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding AAE as 25%

Considered AAE a different Dialect

Had 9 unanswered questions resulting in 9 zeros

Knows no other language

9. Score: 45.8%

#5 Female

Has taught 9 years

Has never taught in a class containing AAE speakers

Caucasian

AB

1 linguistics course

1 grammar course

Age - 32

Has taught overseas 9 years

Evaluated understanding AAE as 25%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Had 6 unanswered questions resulting in 6 zeros

Knows some Danish and French

8. Score: 49.3%

#21 Female

Has taught 4 years

Has never taught AAE speakers

Caucasian

BS

No linguistics courses

No grammar courses

Age - 26

Has taught only in Houston

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 25%

Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

Left 9 questions unanswered resulting in 9 zeros

Knows no other languages

7. Score: 52.3%

#9 Female

Has taught 4 years

Has taught a 100% Black classroom for two years

Oriental with mother tongue Mainstream English

BS

1 linguistics course

1 grammar course

Age - 26

Has taught in Massachusetts and in England

Evaluated understanding AAE 50%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Answered all questions with no zeros

Can understand spoken Cantonese but cannot speak it

6. Score: 53.0%

#34 Female

Has taught 14 years

Has never taught AAE speaking students

Caucasian

AB

No linguistics courses

No grammar courses

Age - 39

Has taught in Wisconsin and in Okinawa and Germany

Evaluated self as understanding 50%

Considered AAE as a Different Language

Left 5 questions unanswered resulting in 5 zeros

Has some knowledge of German

5. Score: 53.1%

#42 Female

Has taught 3 years

Has never taught AAE speakers

Caucasian

AB

No linguistics courses

No grammar courses

Age - 41

Has taught in Mexico 3 years

Evaluated understanding AAE 50%

Considered AAE a Different Dialect

Left 2 questions unanswered, resulting in 2 zeros

Knows no other languages (despite having taught in a foreign country)

4. Score: 53.2%

#47 Female

Has taught 2 years

Has taught classes with 33% AAE speakers one year

Caucasian

BS

1 linguistics course

1 grammar course

Age - 23

Has taught in New York 1 year

Evaluated self as understanding AAE as 50%

Did not indicate if she thought AAE was Substandard English, a Different Dialect of English, or a Different Language

Had 1 unanswered question with 1 zero

Knows no other language

3. Score: 53.9%

#11 Male

Has taught 1 year

Has never taught AAE speakers

Caucasian

AB

2 linguistics courses

2 grammar courses

Age - 22

Has taught only in Texas

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 25%

Considered AAE as Substandard English

Left 4 questions unanswered, resulting in 4 zeros

Knows no other languages

2. Score: 54.7%

#24 Female

Has taught 25 years

Has never taught AAE speakers

Caucasian

BS

No linguistics courses

No grammar courses

Age - 45

Has taught only in Houston

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 75%

Considers AAE as Substandard English

Left 1 question with no answer, resulting in 1 zero

Knows no other languages

1. Score: 55.1%

#46 Female

Has taught 2 years

Has taught 1 year in a class with 33% AAE speakers

Caucasian

BS

1 linguistics course

1 grammar course

Age - 23

Has taught 1 year in New York

Evaluated understanding of AAE as 50%

Did not indicate a viewpoint on whether AAE was Substandard English, a Different Dialect or a Different Language

Did not answer 2 questions, resulting in 2 zeros

Knows no other languages

Had the scoring been different, using 0-1-2 instead of 0-1-2-3, i.e., blanks and incorrect answers being rated as 0, partially correct answers being rated as 1, and correct or nearly-correct answers being rated as 2, there would have been a different order among the lowest ten scores. Scoring contrasts are listed below:

1.	#20	-	43.4%	1.	#20
2.	5	-	45.8	2.	5
3.	21	-	49.3	3.	9
4.	9	-	52.3	4.	3*
5.	34	-	53.0	5.	47
6.	42	-	53.1	6.	42
7.	47	-	53.2	7.	21
8.	11	-	53.9*	8.	24
9.	24	-	54.7	9.	29*
10.	46	-	55.1	10.	34

*No. 8 would be rated in 11th position on the 0-1-2 scale, a not very important difference. As a result the profile of Subject #11 is not given.

*No. 4 was rated No. 21 on the 0-1-2-3 scale. This is rather a large difference; as a result, the profile of Subject #3 is given below.

No. 9 (Subject #29) was rated as No. 11 (in 11th position) on the 0-1-2-3 scale, a not very important difference. The profile of Subject #29 is not given.

#3 Male

Has taught 3 years

Has never taught AAE speaking students

Caucasian

BS

1 linguistics course

2 grammar courses

Age - 29

Has taught only in Houston

Evaluated understanding of AEE as 75%

Considered AAE as a Different Dialect

Did not answer one question, resulting in 1 zero

Has complete control of Spanish, although not of Latin ethnic background, and can read French

Profile of the Bottom Ten Scorers

Of the bottom ten scorers, 8 were female, 2 male. Of all 50 Subjects, 40 were female, 10 male.

Teaching experience ranged from 1 year to 25 years: the modes were 2, 3, and 4 years; the median was 13.5 years; the mean was 6.7 years.

Of the lowest ten scorers, 7 had never taught in a classroom with any Afro-American English speakers. This contrasts with the top 10 scorers, 3 of whom had never taught in a classroom with Afro-American English speakers.

All were of Caucasian ethnic/racial backgrounds.

None of the lowest scorers had more than a bachelor's degree, whereas 3 of the top scorers had master's degrees. Of the ten low scorers, 5 had a BS, and 5 had an AB, while of the top 10 scorers, 1 had a BS, and 9 had an AB, with 3 Subjects having an MA. It might be of interest to consider whether a degree in the humanities as compared to a degree in science has a correlation with the comprehension of Afro-American English.

All but 4 of the low scorers had taken grammar: 4 had 1 grammar course, and 2 had taken 2 grammar courses. None had taken more than 2 grammar courses.

Of the ten lowest scorers, 6 had taken either grammar courses or linguistics courses, while 4 had taken neither. In contrast, of the top ten scorers, 8 had taken either grammar courses or linguistics courses, while 2 had taken neither.

Age ranged between 22 and 45. The mode was 26; the median was 32; and the mean was 30.3.

Of the ten lowest scorers, 4 had taught only in Texas; 4 had taught in the northern states with 3 of those Subjects also having taught in foreign countries; 2 had taught only in foreign countries. Five of the Subjects had done most of their teaching in countries other than The United States. Lack of contact with any Afro-American English speakers where English is not spoken except as a second (or foreign) language appears to have had the effect of making Afro-American English difficult for the Subjects to comprehend. In contrast with the ten lowest scorers, the ten top scorers included only one Subject who had taught in another location other than in Texas, and that was in California.

Of the lowest ten scorers, 4 had rated themselves as being able to comprehend Afro-American English at the 25% level, 5 had evaluated their comprehension as 50%; and 1 had evaluated himself as being able to comprehend 75%. The lowest ten scorers had a less realistic view of their comprehension of Afro-American English than did the top ten scorers.

Four Subjects considered Afro-American English as substandard English; 3 considered it to be a different dialect; 1 considered it to be a different language, and 2 left the question unanswered. The two who indicated nothing had taught in New York. Two who considered Afro-American English as substandard English had taught only in Texas; 1 who considered it to be substandard had taught in a foreign country; 1 had taught in another state but not in a foreign country. Of the remaining 5 Subjects who had scored in the lowest ten, 4 considered Afro-American English to be a different dialect and 1 considered it to be a different language.

Blanks: Lowest

Ten Scorers

Position	Subject	%	0s
50	20	43.3	9
49	5	45.6	6
48	21	49.3	9
47	9	52.3	0
46	34	53.1	5
45	42	53.2	2
44	47	53.3	1
43	11	53.9	4
42	24	54.7	1
41	46	55.1	9

Blanks: Top

Ten Scorers

Position	Subject	%	0s
1	18	71.2	1
2	13	69.7	1
3	10	69.1	0
4	38	68.3	0
5	4	67.9	1
6	45	67.8	0
7	2	67.6	0
8	15	67.2	0
9	23	67.2	0
10	6	67.1	2

APPENDIX E

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SITUATIONS

The spelling of the excerpts in Afro-American English is not phonemically written but standard script is used with an effort to approximate the major characteristics of the speech used. Phonemes are sometimes used for clarification.

Situation 1. Asked if he were going to have his paper ready by Friday, the student replied: *I'm designin' on it*.

Discussion. "Design," according to *Webster's Third Unabridged Dictionary*,[1] is to have a proposal of intent. In AAE, there is no commitment of intent; to "design" on something is the preliminary step as to whether or not an action will be taken. The student is being noncommittal.

The "m" of *I'm* is pronounced as "n." The first "n" of *designin*' is fused with the final "n" in an elongated nasal almost to the point of complete disappearance: [diz ai : n] and the vowel of *it* is elided, resulting in [ant].

Discussion of the use of "n" for "m" is discussed by Bengt Loman (1967).[2]

Situation 2. A friend passed a student who was cleaning out his locker and remarked: You right smart.

Discussion. "Right smart" is "very active" or "very lively" and is an expression used in various parts of the southern part of the United States. "Right" means "a considerable amount" in the Southern U.S., and is an archaism, although considered correct literary usage in Chaucer's time. "Smart" means brisk, spirited, or lively, and is of nautical derivation. (Webster's Unabridged Dictionary).

Copula absence is also characteristic of white Southern speech, according to Walt Wolfram (1971).[3] According to William A. Stewart (1967),[4] copula deletion can only be used in AAE for "momentary" aspect, i.e., He busy right now, but not the continuous He busy all the time. Wolfram found He busy right now, He is busy right now, and He busy all the time. This can probably be accounted for in more mature speakers as learned ME speech interchangeable with AAE in diglossia.

There is some evidence that even with adult AAE speakers who have learned ME, when they are using AAE, the "are" or "re" deletion is required when followed by a word beginning with "r." This also seems to apply when the following word begins with "l" or "m."

Semantically, "right" in AAE is used differently from ME usage. "Right on!" is ME derived from AAE but indicates only agreement in ME. In AAE it is exhortative, meaning to continue "briskly forward" (Brown, 1974).[5] Thus, "You right smart!" has the meaning of "You're certainly busy; keep it up!"

Situation 3. A student was asked by his friend if he had been angry when the teacher had accidentally spilled ink on his paper. The student replied: She clean up after it.

Discussion. The final "d" of "cleaned" is deleted, making clean up rather than cleaned up. Walter Wolfram and Ralph Fasold (1973)[6] inform us that "when the suffix -ed is realized by a stop following a base form which ends in a consonant, the stop is not pronounced . . . [T]he final stop member of a syllable final consonant is frequently absent."

Semantically, conformance with white cultural logic translates into "wiping up the messy ink and messed up paper." Conformance with Black logic translates as a white person wiping away any antagonism from the Black student's reaction by taking all the blame upon herself. The two-word verb clean up has been taken into the Mainstream lexicon in "Clean up your act," meaning to "behave yourself." In the above situation, the teacher behaved correctly according to decent standards.

The apology is indicated by the word after. Had the teacher cleaned up the "mess" and made only a token apology, the expression would probably have been She clean it up, which would indicate little or no forgiveness on the part of the student and consequently does not have the ME implication of inferiority or futility, as is often indicated in ME (Webster's Third Unabridged Dictionary), such as in "After all, she cleaned it up" meaning "She tried to make amends, but it was not totally sufficient." In AAE, "She tried to make amends and it was totally sufficient."

Situation 4. One student was angry at another, remarking: You don' let nothin' pass.

Discussion. The double negative is common in all substandard varieties of English but it is required in Afro-American English. The pronunciation, with the substitution of "n" for "ng," is also common in all varieties of spoken English except the formal and frozen categories of speech.

"Pass" in ME means "to move onward." In AAE an additional meaning has accrued to the word. Historically, Blacks were allowed to go from one area to another only if white permitted them to do so by giving them a "pass." The individual is complaining that whatever is done or said is objected to, and is an extremely negative statement in the mind of an Afro-American, indicating that there is no hope of ever pleasing his antagonist.

J. A. Harrison, in 1884, noted Not ter let nuthin' pass as "to appropriate everything" ("Negro English" Perspectives on Black English, Ed. J. (Dillard, 1975).[7] The fault-finder in this situation has appropriated whatever was said as pertaining to him, whereas, whatever remark had created the disburbance may not have been meant for him at all.

The student is accusing the fault-finder of not minding his own business or of never seeing the good in anybody or anything.

"You don't let anything pass" would not make sense to a speaker of only AAE, but would require some knowledge of ME, although such a speaker would recognize the statement "You don' say any thing" where any thing is two words. This means "What you say is nothing, simply hot air." "Any thing" could not be used in "You don't let any thing pass" since that would be admitting that the accuser himself spoke words that were "full of hot air," meaningless, of no value.

The use of any + thing, or any + where, or any + one in AAE is indicative of non-existence. The words are used as two words, not a combinatory one word. Any thing is zero. "He don' do any thing, not nothin'" means he is 100% nonproductive. "He ain' any where" means he's out of the realm of common society in that he's "spaced out" or on drugs. "It ain' any one there" means there is, and never was, any one there. Had there been someone there, but no longer, or not at this moment, the expression would have been "it ain' nobody there" with nobody being the AAE equivalent of ME anybody or anyone.

Situation 5. When asked why he was angry, the student explained: *He always lay somethin' on somebody*.

Discussion. William Labov states that "in general, wherever Standard English can contract, Black English Vernacular can delete the copula, and that wherever SE cannot contract, BEV cannot delete (1972).[8] Mainstream English can say *He's always* --- so AAE can delete the "s" of the contracted copula "is," making *He always* ---. Labov adds that this is more likely to occur if the preceding noun phrase is a pronoun, and if the subject ends in a vowel. *He* fits both requirements, being a pronoun with a vowel ending.

The inclusion of "always" is common in high school AAE but "always" is seldom used by younger speakers of AAE. The probable statement would have been "He all a time be layin' somethin' on somebody" with the pronunciation of "somethin'"--as most commonly pronounced in such a situation by most children, ME speakers or AAE speakers--"sum:in" [sʌm:ən].

Afro-American English usually refers to a person as "somebody" rather than "someone" unless that "someone" is absolutely known. "Body" is much more common than "one." This could be related to the use, in Afro-American English, of more metaphors relating to the body than in Mainstream English. In Remedial English classes, "someone" as an unknown person was not used a single time by any of the Afro-Americans in the classes which I taught.

J. A. Harrison noted that "To lay sump'n' on somebody" was "to accuse some one" (1975).[9]

Walt Wolfram (1971)[10] differs in his explanation of copula deletion, particularly when used with "all the time" or, as in this case, "always," but agrees that "there are some aspects of copula absence which seem to be unique to Black dialects."

Beryl Loftman Bailey (1965) and William A. Stewart (1968)[11] give different explanations from those by either Wolfram or Lobov. Whatever the "correct" explanation(s), the teacher should be aware of the legitimacy of copula deletion in the language spoken by those who use Afro-American English.

Situation 6. A student maintained he had turned in his paper. The teacher asked him to do it again since she had no record of it. The student replied: I ain' goin' do it.

Discussion. The final consonant of ain't is deleted in AAE as discussed by almost every investigator of AAE. The monograph by Joan Fickett in 'Merican: An Inner City Dialect: Aspects of Morphemics, Syntax, and Semology (1975) discusses this; Robbins Burling discusses the deletion of "t" final in English in Black and White (1973); and Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold discuss the final consonant cluster simplification in their Study of Social Dialects (1974).[12]

Goin' is pronounced as "go" with an additional "n" on it [gon]. For those Afro-Americans having difficulty with spelling English, it is not unusual to find "going" spelled "gone." It is not common, but it is not unusual.

The translation of this statement into ME would be "I'm not going to do it" but such a translation would not include the semantic information carried, which is I am not going to do it at all, or I am NOT going to do it (since I have done it once and once is enough).

Pertinent to the statement is the manner in which it was made: the intonation is quiet and restrained. By such restraint, the speaker indicates resolution. By the normal 2-3-1 intonation, the speaker shows self-possession, feeling he is not in the wrong, and will remain firm. Fickett (1975)[13] shows as post-imminent aspect "She's a-gonna sing" negated to "She ain't a-gonna sing." In the Houston area, the contraction "She is" to "She's" seldom occurs even among adult speakers when they are talking among themselves. It is simply She as in She gonna sing or, She a-gonna sing with the pre-posed a indicating the near future. The pre-posed a of a-gonna is used in the Houston area, but by the time the Afro-American English speaker is in high school this is somewhat lost. The speaker did not use the preposed a in the example given, although one of the younger speakers in one of the situations given does use it (Situation 21).

With the negative "ain't" the preposed a in a-gonna is absorbed into the /e/ of "ain't" after the deletion of the final consonant /t/, giving "ain'a." In this area, the "ain'" is further reduced to a nasalized vowel [è]; thus absorbed, the *a* of *a-gonna* has been reduced to a weakened schwa as it became attached to "ain'" and detached from a-gonna, thus making the whose phrase nasalized as *I aingondo it* [æiẽngõn duwʌt]. (Also Lawrence M. Davis, 1971.)[14]

The sentence is made up of morphologically simple constituents, "but," according to Dwight Bolinger (1975),[15] "it is not necessary that a linguistic unit be morphologically complex in order to be semantically complex." Semantically, the statement would have to be translated with an emphatic NOT, which would still not show the quiet determination of the student not to re-do the paper. A strong emphasis on NOT, or in this case, AIN'T would be not only morally wrong for the Black student, since he felt he was in a secure position, it would not be gramatically correct either. If the *ain't* were stressed, it would mean "didn't," grammatically unacceptable in both AAE and ME as it would produce "I didn't going to do it." (See Situation 35.)

If stress were admitted, it would have to be, in AAE, on *do*: *I ain' goin' DO it*. This would be the emphatic form in AAE. The student was, however, more than emphatic--he was righteously adamant and used a quiet non-emphatic intonation.

Situation 7. Asked if he were going to the high school dance, a student replied: Ain' got no funz.

Discussion. The final consonant of "ain't" and that of "funds" is deleted (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974).[16] The pronunciation of "funds" was confused by ME speakers as "fun" and "fawns" (meaning girls), and "friends." "Ain't got no fun" was interpreted as the student not feeling like having a good time; "Ain't got no fawns" as the student not having any girl with whom to go; and "Ain't got no friends" as the student not going because he doesn't know anyone. All interpretations are indicative of ME speakers assuming mispronunciation of "fun" (the addition of 's) and of "friends" (the deletion of "r,") or, in trying to find some word to satisfy the semantic possibilities, the interpolation of a sound ("r") which was not actually made by the speaker. The assumption of "fawns" as "girls" was made, even though it was specifically stated that no slang was included in the speech examples, indicating, perhaps, an attitude that what is "slang" in ME is not slang in AAE.

Frank Anshen mentions that in every form of AAE, the negative of "have not" is "ain't" (1975).[17]

Fasold and Wolfram discuss the negative

structures in "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect" (1975).[18]

Afro-American English seldom uses "any," if at all. It appears to be used only by older AAE speakers and may be adopted from ME. Younger AAE speakers do not seem to use it at all.

In ME three negative placement rules operate under the general restriction that the negative element NOT can be expressed in the final version of any sentence only once. The first negative placement rule operates in all dialects of English and requires that NOT be placed into any noun phrase containing the indefinite element ANY, if that noun phrase comes before the main verb. The second rule is that NOT be attached to the main verb phrase if the first rule does not apply: "I haven't any funds" would be changed to "I don't have any funds." The third placement rule can apply, but doesn't have to. This rule allows a negative to be removed from the main verb phrase and attached to the first ANY which follows the verb phrase, resulting in "I have not any funds" which is then converted to "I have no funds." "Don't have" is always "ain't got" in AAE.

In nonstandard dialects, according to Wolfram and Fasold, there are two differences. First, the rule is a copying rule, so the original NOT remains in the main verb phrase. Further, the NOT is copied with every ANY in the sentence, so the resulting structure is "I do not have not any funds" with "not any funds" converted to "no funds."

As Fasold and Wolfram state, the word any can never appear in the spoken form of a negative sentence in AAE (1974).[19] "Any" does not seem to be included in the speech of AAE speakers but seems to be replaced in all cases, affirmative as well as negative, with another word. In affirmative cases, the use of "some" replaces "any" in all situations.

Marvin Lofin states (1975) that there is no evidence of have in questions, negatives, and assertions in AAE. He also notes that in an unpublished paper by Wolfram, 1969, there is no evidence of have forms occurring in assertions, but that if they occur in negatives or questions, it is an indication of learning in the direction of ME.[20]

The use of the word "funds" as "steady money" in AAE, rather than simply "ready money" has an extensional meaning of importance for total comprehension of the statement. The extensional meaning is contextual in that if the student has no money and no way of getting any money, he not only can't go to the dance, he has no job. He has no funds, i.e., he has no steady money.

Lack of comprehension of what the student "didn't have" could seriously hamper any sympathetic reaction a teacher might have if the seriousness of not having any money and no means of getting any were not recognized. Afro-Americans have accused Caucasians of being unfeeling and uncaring as to the problems of Blacks. A ME speaking teacher could appear to be completely unsympathetic to the student's problem because of lack of comprehension of the extensional meanings inherent in AAE, as it is in all languages. There is a semantic difference in the use of "funds" in ME and AAE. Geneva Gay and Roger Abrahams caution teachers to be most careful observers "so as to get at least an inkling of the extent and diversity of the students' verbal behavior and what the words connote . . ." and Kenneth Clark is concerned with teacher "lack of sensitivity" to AAE (1978).[21] If the student doesn't have any girlfriends he can ask to the dance, or doesn't have any friends, the situation is serious; but if the student doesn't have any money and no source of money so that he cannot go with his girlfriend or with any other friends, the teacher might be able to think of some way for the student to earn enough money to be able to take part in the school activity.

Situation 8. When one student had been elected King of the All School Party, the teacher asked how Darrell, who had been a runner-up, had felt about losing. A friend replied: Darrell don' be mad.

Discussion. This was interpreted as "Darrell didn't get mad" or some variant, such as "Darrell didn't mind." The friend was saying, however, that Darrell never gets angry and was, therefore, not upset about losing out on being King of the All School Party. If it had been "Darrell didn't get mad" AAE would have been "Darrell ain't mad," which would, in all probability, have been interpreted by ME speakers as "Darrell isn't mad."

The "rr" of "Darrell" is discussed in many articles as being deleted with the preceding "a" elongated. The /r/ is merged into the /l/ and sounds somewhat similar to ME "Dowell." This inhibiting of a central "r" and a merging of obstruents into a rather long consonant sound is easily understood if it is recognized that /r/ and /l/ are both liquid sounds. The loss of the "r" and the merging of "l" to the "d" of "don't" seemed to confuse some Subjects in that the answer was translated "damned bad," and "Darrell knew it, man." "Don' be mad" was translated as "know it," indicating that the translator was aware of AAE use of the present tense for past to present aspect, but an inability to hear all the consonants. AAE not only has the rule for devoicing in unstressed syllables (as in Darrell, with the devoicing of "rr"), but stressed syllables as well, so that mad becomes mat, mud becomes mut, and load becomes loat.[22] The elision of final "ll" and the devoicing of central "rr" of Darrell with the merging in fast speech of the two words Darrell don seemed to be equated with "damned"; and be mad seemed to evoke a single word "bad." The speaker said neither "mad" nor "mat" but a sound halfway between the /t/ and /d/--a softened "t".

In one instance, mad was interpreted as "man," which would, if it were used with a teacher, be a very personal mode of address and might be construed as rude. In addition, slang was specifically left out of the examples and the Subjects were so advised. The Subject doing the translating may have considered "man" as acceptable in good AAE. It is, however, slang in both AAE and ME.

Situation 9. When asked how his brother had become so good at playing the trumpet, a boy replied: *He prone into it*.

Discussion. J. A. Harrison writing in the 1880's noted that "to be proned inter" was "to be well established in" something. In the 1980's, *prone* as used in this sentence means *He was forced into it*, or *He was made to practice a lot*.

This sentence was generally translated with "prone" being "born." Fickett (1975) states that the passive voice consists of the form *be* with the perfect form.[24] In Houston (Fickett studied students in Buffalo, N.Y.), the "be" and perfect form -d marker have been deleted in this passive voice statement, resulting in an interpretation by ME speakers as a past participle used as an adjective: *He was born into it*, *He was born with the talent*, *He's a 'natural*.'

There seems to be some relation to "prong" in the present-day usage of "prone," an element of force; Harrison does not indicate any "force" nor does the 1880 usage indicate a particular "talent" for something. It does not mean, however, that the boy was prone to play the trumpet and was, therefore, good, that is, had natural talent. The idea of having practiced a great deal appeared in many answers. The word "prone" also appeared to be translated as "proud of his playing." It is, clear, however, that "prone" is not the "prone" of ME.

Since both the "been" of the passive and the "ed" perfect suffix have been deleted in this sentence, the appearance of the statement is that of the active voice or "prone(d)" as an adjective. There is no verb "prone" in ME, so that the possibility of the word meaning "prong," which can be a verb, seems possible, not as to pierce or to break up but to force as though being threatened (by a pitch-fork with tines or prongs).

Stewart points out that "you find a recognition in all of the slave-holder literature that Negroes and whites never spoke the same . . ." (1975).[25] It might be that the historical background for "prone" is different in AAE from that of the same word as used by speakers of ME. "Prone" is used with "in + to," with the primary sentence stress on "to" indicating an action verb. Beryl Bailey points out that "was" is reserved for events that are completely in the past, while "been" extends from the past up to, and including the present moment. The deletion of "was" from this sentence would indicate that the boy did something, or something was done to the boy, completely in the past. If the boy had been born with a natural talent for playing the trumpet, AAE would have used "He been prone in to it." (See Williamson, 1976.)[26] If the copula that was deleted had been "is," it would have been "He is prone in to it" with "is" replaced by "be," giving "He be prone in to it" which would indicate that the boy had been and was "prone in to it" and would fit into the syntactic structure of AAE as being a talent which the boy had and has. However, in AAE, the "be" would not have been deleted if this had been the meaning of the sentence.

Williamson states that Bailey notes that zero copula occurs before adjectives, before nouns, before adverbs, and before prepositional phrases (p. 172).[27] This could cause the confusion of mistaking "prone" for "born" syntactically, with "prone" identified as a past participle used as an adjective, as is "born." AAE would probably be, in the case of "born" being the interpretation of "prone," "He born that way." In addition to the list of speech parts given by Bailey, zero copula occurs before verbs. J. Dillard feels that the "zero copula" has not been given convincing treatment, despite extensive treatment, in terms of the processes of contraction and deletion in Standard English (1975).[28] AAE as spoken by the large population of Afro-Americans, distributed all over the United States, will have different intra-dialectal features which might act as constraints on various commonly used speech characteristics of the language, which results in a cautious approach toward specifying what constitutes the basic language of a non-geographically people with a common language system. Rules are being attempted but are not confirmed as they are for languages which have been studied in great detail for hundreds of years. That the zero copula exists is verified, but exactly how it is used has not been determined.

Harrison's interpretation of being proned into something as being well-established in something would indicate some effort having been made to become thus securely established. Having been born with some talent would not have been enough to indicate the use of the expression; effort would have to be made, whether forced or voluntary. "Prone into" in AAE has a greater depth of meaning that "born with" in ME.

Stewart specifies the deletion of was + verb as Negro non-standard, so that "was prone" would be non-standard AAE and not acceptable as an example to be used in this questionnaire. It is, however, used in the Houston area. Stewart, who is considered one of the best authorities in Afro-American English studies, would be better able to judge non-standard AAE than one who does not know how to speak AAE. This example, therefore, may not have been appropriate for this test situation because of the deletion of the past-tense auxiliary "was." The use of "prone," however, is an acceptable word in AAE, and would be admissible for this questionnaire. (See William Stewart, 1972.)[29]

Situation 10. Asked why one of the students was late returning to class from having been to the library, a student explained: He be waitin' on a frien' book.

Discussion. "Be" is not only syntactically different in AAE from ME, it is also a lexically different item. Stewart was one of the first to point out that in AAE, the function of "be" as in "He be workin'" is different from "He workin'", and stated that this function was not a characteristic of ME (1975).[30] "Be" is not an exact translation of "is" but is almost another word as far as semantics is concerned. It includes the word "still": "He is still waiting on a friend to get a book." It indicates an intent to wait for his friend to get his book until that friend gets it, even though it might take some time. Had the statement been, "He waitin' on a friend book," there would have been no indication of a long time lapse. It is apparent, with the use of "be" that the boys are having trouble getting a book. There would be no indication of this in ME without stating that the boys were having some sort of difficulty. Fickett notes (1975)[31] that the third person singular pronoun + be + verb + ing, i.e., He be waiting is to be translated as *He was (is, will be) waiting*. This is the generally accepted interpretation of *be* + verb + ing in AAE, William Stewart having been one of the first to bring attention to this characteristic of AAE in the early 1960's.[32]

Wolfram specifies that where the *'s* possessive appears in ME, AAE indicates possessive by the order of the words only, and that the possessive *'s* is not pronounced. In many respects, the use of the possessive functions like the third person singular with respect to Black-White speech differences in that the *-s* and *'s* are not pronounced in AAE (1971).[33] As noted elsewhere, the final consonant cluster is not articulated, so that "friend's" loses not only its possessive "'s," the "d" is also lost, leaving only the "n," which is combined with the vowel sound of "friend" and nasalized, making the word sound like /frɛ̃n/.

Dr. Gary A. Simpkins and Dr. Charlesetta Simpkins also discuss the possessive of AAE in *Black English and the Education of Black Children and Youth: Proceedings of the National Invitational Symposium on the KING Decision* (1981).[34]

Where the final "k" of "book" is not strongly pronounced, the string "on a frenbook" produces a pronunciation-comprehension problem for ME speakers in addition to the syntactic-comprehension problem of the AAE form of the possessive.

Situation 11. A student was talking about leaving school to go to work. The teacher didn't want him to. The boy's friend explained to her: *He have a min' to do it*.

Discussion. This is, as could be expected, *he has a mind to do it*, or *He has made up his mind to do it*. It is interesting in that the AAE speaker has used "have" as a verb, which is not AAE but is an adaptation toward ME. The speaker is a high school male. The verb "have," however, would not be used if it had not been for the confusion of having heard the ME "He has half a mind to do it" signifying not having made up his mind but strongly considering doing something. The student has not, as it would initially appear, ad*a*pted "to have" to AAE, using "have" and not "has," but has ad*o*pted an expression he has heard and is using it correctly but under AAE rules: the "has" is not used, in fact, but is AAE present tense.

William Chisholm and Louis T. Milič indicate that AAE tends to reverse the set *I have*, *You have*, *He has* to *I has*, *You has*, *He have* and indicate that this applies to all verbs. This is probably true, but it does vary as the AAE speaker combines ME and AAE from mixing with the mainstream culture (1980).[35]

Stewart notes that "have" is acquired. However, "even when 'pure' basilect (the language spoken by very young AAE speakers), is abandoned, the resultant shift may involve more of a change in overt morphological appearance than in basic grammatical patterns," thus resulting in "structural interference from underlying basilect patterns [which] may continue to be a major problem in the learning of Standard English by many individuals who are no longer superficially identifiable as basilect users" (1973).[36]

Situation 12. There was a class discussion about a TV show and someone was admiring the hero. One of the boys remarked: I coulda did that what he did 'n it.

Discussion. Fickett (1975)[36] notes the modals can, could, should, would become coulda, shoulda, and woulda function in AAE much as they do in ME with the difference that a stands for have which is never used in AAE as an auxiliary. Done is used as the auxiliary in place of have, with done as the past participle of "do" changed to did in AAE, resulting in I done did it, instead of I have done it. With done as the auxiliary, AAE would not say I done done it as sometimes occurs in non-standard ME. If the auxiliary done is replaced by the AAE auxiliary coulda (which, in ME, is could have), the verb form which would have been used with the auxiliary done is kept, resulting in coulda did.

Jerrie Scott interprets ME "have done" as "done did" in AAE, noting that the pattern is one of a system of patterns that represent a verb system which operates in a different way from ME, with the ME patterns "rendered with distinctive markings for tense as an obligatory category whereas the BE system gives preferential treatment to aspects as an obligatory category" (1981).[37]

In "that what," there is a left-dislocation (also called "pronominal apposition) common in speech, with "what" referring to the same event or thing as "that," constituting a repetition of a referring word. I could have done what he did in it would have conveyed the same idea as the example given. However, there seems to be an exophoric situation involved in the "that" as referring to specific actions of the hero which the boy felt he could have done as well as the hero had done. In ME, the "what," in that case, would have been replaced by "which," or the form of the statement would have been changed to include "all": I could have done all (or everything) the things that he did in the TV show. It was usually translated as I could have done what he did. However, the "in it," pronounced "int" did cause misinterpretation by two Subjects, resulting in I couldn't have done that what he did, with the "int" translated as a negative to be attached to the modal in ME; and in a double negative, I couldn't have done what he didn't do, indicating a possible confusion as to where the negative sound of "int" was to go, resulting, of course, in a non-standard sentence, and, additionally, making little sense. Both interpretations indicate some difficulty with the tagged on "in it." Both subjects interpreted AAE speech in the 60% to 70% range of comprehension. They had little else in common.

The speaker is a mature high school boy who has assimilated some ME, so that "did in it" seems to contrast with "could have done" as being inconsistent. This is a common phenomenon of the language used by older AAE speakers who have been schooled in ME speaking school systems.

Situation 13. Asked where he got his "bad temper," a boy replied: I been had it for some time.

Discussion. Been is used as the auxiliary rather than have.[38] In remote time, been + past participle is used in AAE. That the student added "for some time" indicates that the so-called "bad temper" has not always been a characteristic of his. That he has had it for a long time is indicated by the use of been, but how long a time is not specified. It could be, in the context of whatever has disturbed the student, only a few months, or it could be for a longer period--several years. It does not indicate "all my life" nor "always." Neither does it mean "sometimes," "off-and-on." It is a constant state of some duration, but how long a period of time would depend upon his own feelings of what should be his "normal temper." Been + past participle is usually a remote past, but can continue into the present.

Situation 14. Talking about the personality of one of the girls in the class, a boy remarked: She cold nature.

Discussion. Deletion of the copula "is" is permissible in AAE where ME can use the contraction 's. Labov notes that "there are no speakers of BEV (Black English Vernacular) who always delete the copula, and none who never do so." Deletion is favored if a pronoun ending in a vowel precedes the position where "is" would be when the pronoun is in subject position.[39]

"That's cool" and the "now" (1980's) slang expression, "That's cold" are related in that to be cool is to have oneself under complete control. That's cool is slang in ME but is not slang in AAE. Cold is slang in AAE in the expression That's cold but cold as being under self-control does not mean the woman is frigid nor has an "icy" personality but does mean that the woman has herself under control and is capable of controlling others. She is not necessarily assertive in a "bossy" manner; she is extremely self-confident.

The -ed suffix which marks past tense and past participle forms, as well as derived adjectives, can be removed by application of the consonant cluster reduction rule.[40] This has been remarked before, and is strongly documented in the literature. The consonant cluster reduction rule also applies to "cold," making the word "col.'" With the softening to almost disappearance of the "r" in "nature" the statement becomes [ši ko: neč :], "she col' natu.'"

In general, women--and especially female heads of households and older women--speak differently from men. Women are expected to be more restrained in their talk, less loud, less public, and much less abandoned. Silence from children, especially in the presence of Mama, is highly valued. A *cold natured woman* is a woman who has herself admirably under control; her household is in order.[41]

Situation 15. Talking about white people, a boy remarked: Ain' gone git in they min' they change 'cause they ain'.

Discussion. The subject of the sentence is They, referring to "white people," although deleted. Translated, this is They aren't going to think that they will change because they won't (change). "Git in they min'" (get in their minds) is an AAE expression equivalent to ME "get it into their heads," that is, think about or plan to do something. "Get" is pronounced as "git," which is a southern speech characteristic (/ɛ/ becoming /ɪ/), and a characteristic of many Houstonian speakers, of both ME and AAE.

They change would be translated as "going to change," but is in the present tense with the Black citizen's view of society at this moment and in the future. They is, again, "white people," and is in the possessive. Fasold and Wolfram believe that because of the similarity of the two words "they" and "their," with the AAE ellipsis of the final consonant in "their," a merging of the two words into a single pronunciation has taken place, and that what were originally two separate words are now merged into one word, they.[42] The possessive form of the third person plural sounds, in AAE, exactly like the nominal form of the third person plural.

The deletion of the prefix of because, shortening the word to 'cause is typical of both AAE and ME casual speech. Ain't gone is "ain't going," the negativized future. As Robbins Burling points out, "colloquial standard English usually indicates the future by one of two constructions: -'ll, contracted from either will or shall, or the phrase to be going to. The latter . . . is certainly used by everyone. Both are also used by nonstandard speakers, but they may be pronounced in rather special ways. Everybody contracts will and shall to 'll, but many blacks can go further and omit the remaining -'ll as well . . . Phrases based upon going to are very common among black non-standard speakers, but they are pronounced in an abbreviated way"[43] such as "gon'."

Complete deletion of 'll has occurred before change; and going to get has been shortened to gon' git.

The most difficult problem in translating this example occurs with the deleted subject. ME speakers are accustomed to the grammatical deletion of the subject in commands, and assumed the student was admonishing his classmates in a command form, "Don't you get into your mind they will change ---" However, if the subject is made into You, rather than They, the statement doesn't "make sense": You aren't going to get in their minds they will change because they aren't going to. The mid-sentence "they" would have to be changed and the object "them" added: You aren't going to get in your minds you will change them because they aren't going to. ME does not delete the object and neither does AAE, so that the second interpretation is impossible.

The actual translation of "they ain'" is "they won't" although "they aren't going to change" seemed to be acceptable to some of the raters.[44]

Labov is concerned about slight phonetic differences which are often unnoticed by the casual listener, indicating that such differences are very significant in terms of learning and reading what he calls Mainstream English. "The slight phonetic signals observed . . . indicate systematic differences that can lead to reading problems and problems of being understood."[45] The problem of "they" would be less in this statement if there were one less, since four "they's" (one of which is indicated but is confused by some ME speakers as _You_) truly is confusing to the ME speaking listener. It was taken, by some Subjects, to mean "they + mind" as a subject + verb construction.

Situation 16. A child has been asked to deliver a message to another classroom. A short time later the little girl came back to the teacher and said: I taken it.

Discussion. The auxiliary "have" is not used in AAE,[46] but the child, on her best behavior, has used the past participle of the verb take; she might have been chosen because she was a prized student. It is, however, a verb which would be used very often in the classroom, "Have you taken up the papers?," etc. One individual missed it completely, however, and wrote exactly what she/he had heard. Since this was done by the Subject in several other places, it was taken as an indicator of not having understood the speech excerpt, despite having heard all the sounds. It might be that taken was somehow confused with taking. I done it was harshly judged by three raters. This translation might have been based upon the reverse concept of William Labov: "Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate dialect, answers given in any formal test situation will shift from the subordinate towards the superordinate in an irregular and unsystematic manner."[47] In this particular formal test situation, the questions related to the subordinate language which had temporarily been moved to the superordinate position. There may have been a mental translation of *I taken it* to *I've taken it* with a mental reverse back to AAE *I taken it*. There is no way of checking why *I taken it* was written as the translation, but since all other Subjects were judged as having given the best translation, except for disagreement among the raters on two other Subjects who had written *I did it*, it would seem that one of the two explanations should apply.

The statement was included to give security to the contestants at approximately one-third of the way through the test. An additional "rest" was given in Situation 33, approximately two-thirds of the way through the test.

Situation 17. A child was putting books back in place on a shelf but there didn't seem to be enough space for the last book. Another child advised: Well, presh on it.

Discussion. The vocabulary item presh means both push and press, and may be an original blending of the two words peculiar to AAE, or it might be a shortened form of "pressure." There is an expression used in the Houston area, as in "I don't want to pressure you into it, but do it if you can," where pressure is used as a verb, meaning "to apply psychological pressure." The word "presh" may be derived from "pressure" used as a verb. It may also be an affricate /š/ displacing /s/ in the word press. It is a commonly used word by AAE speakers in the southeast area of Houston: "He presh on the gas" (He pressed on the gas); She be preshin' that chil' 'roun' all day! (She's been pushing that child around all day!).

Situation 18. The teacher couldn't locate one of her children. A little girl told her: There he go hin' you back.

Discussion. "Go" is used, in AAE, as a replacement for "is" when location is indicated. Wolfram and Fasold (The Study of Social Dialects in American English, p., 172) note that "speakers of Vernacular Black English of elementary school age often use the expression There go or Here go where speakers of Standard English and older speakers of Vernacular Black English use There (here) is." They indicate that this is a nonstandard syntax figure that is strongly age-graded, and that as children move into adolescence, they ordinarily give up these expressions of their own accord as being part of "little kids' talk." This expression, however, is used by adults to adults in the Houston area.

Fasold and Wolfram note that "-s suffix is absent in Vernacular Black English from all verbs at frequencies often higher than 75%."[48]

"The idioms here go and there go serve to point out something (not necessarily in motion) to the listener, and are thus equivalent to here is/are and there is/are . . ."[49]

Geneva Smitherman says that in AAE "Here or There plus go is used instead of here/there plus is/are." No action is indicated. Smitherman gives, as examples, "There go my brother in the first row" and "Here go my momma right here."[50]

The deletion of the final consonant of "behind" and the elision of "be" result in "hin,'" with the vowel nasalized and "n" almost disappearing. The resemblance, however, to ME casual pronunciation of "because" as "'cause," makes the word easily understandable, especially with the further reference to "your back." The final "r" of "your" is elided in AAE, forming the possessive pronoun "you." This is the usual possessive in AAE, as is "they" for "their," and in the pronunciation of "our" as "ow." It has been considered both a pronunciation difference and a grammatical difference by linguists. Whether a phonetic or a syntactic difference, the result is "you" and should be recognized by the teacher as the current form of the possessive in AAE.

Situation 19. Asked if anyone in her family had visited school before, the child replied: My sister he been stay here.

Discussion. Riley B. Smith (1973)[51] indicates that the frequency of the pleonastic subject pronoun is extremely high among speakers of all age groups among AAE speakers in East Texas, and that its occurrence is widespread. In Houston, Texas, its occurrence is not unusual among AAE speakers. Since many Spanish speaking Americans and newly arrived Asiatics are not prejudiced against Afro-Americans, this characteristic of repetition of the noun with a following pronoun is common in this area, not only among AAE speakers but among those with whom they associate.

Fasold and Wolfram (1974)[52] indicate that rather than a lexical item, this is often considered to be syntactical. "Lexically it emphasizes the noun to which it refers, as it does in ME usage, but is less emphatic than the usage in ME." The authors consider it to be primarily a syntactic difference. The example they give in ME is "That man that I met on the train to Chicago last week, he turned out to be a Congressman." The long relative clause encourages the need for reiteration of the subject. They state that this is not a requisite for the pleonastic pronoun use in AAE, which immediately follows the noun to which it refers: My sister he. . . .

It is a characteristic of younger AAE speakers to use the masculine form of the subject or object pronoun for nouns where it is used: That big dog he had puppies last week. It is not used where sex does not enter, such as "a machine."

Fickett (1975)[53] explains that "the expected form of the verb in a done phrase, or a been phrase is the preterite form, whatever that form is as used by the informant." In this case, "stay" is the preterite (stayed). She notes that "the fact that three speakers from widely separated regions (Buffalo, Alabama, and North Carolina) show no inflection suggests strongly that basically the regular verbs of 'Merican (AAE) show no 'ed ending" and that where there is an -ed ending, there is "an outright borrowing from ME." She remarks that "it is not difficult to teach the phonology of the -ed to black children. The big problem is teaching when the -ed should be used and why it is used" (p. 36).

Fickett states that "been stay" should be translated as "stayed here quite a while ago."[54] Smitherman (1980), however, states that "been is [used] in combination with other verb forms to indicate past action, which might be recently completed, or more distantly completed action (although . . . it is structural expression that counts, not the actual semantic reality), for example: He been gone a year, but also: He been gone a day. The White English equivalents would be a form of have plus been plus the verb, . . . Thus, Tony been seen at her house today, but not Tony been seen at her house yesterday. Instead, this latter statement would be rendered in correct Black English as Tony was seen at her house yesterday."[55]

William Stewart (1973) mentions been as a general past-time market (e.g. He been hit me), and pronominal forms which are undifferentiated as to case or gender (e.g. He out playin' in reference to a girl). He also notes that "all English speaking children are known to have used some of these forms."[56] However, it is found among much older children and among the AAE speaking women of the southeastern area in Houston.

The word "stay" indicates a rather short period of time. Children say they "stay at ---- Street" when they are living in a rented place. However, if they have lived in that rented apartment for a long time, they will say they "live at ---- Street." If their parents own their home, or have rented a home for a period of time (a long time in a child's view), the child will use "live" rather than "stay." There is, therefore, the indication that the child's sister did not attend the school for a very long time, perhaps one, or at most, two years. Had the sister attended a long time, the word would have been "go." Children "go" to school when they have been going for at least one year and are attending the same school for the second year. A short time is referred to as "staying."

The pleonastic pronoun he referring to the immediately preceding My father is a common characteristic of AAE. (See Situation 19, My sister he been stay here, p.316). Riley B. Smith indicates the frequency of the pleonastic pronoun is extremely high among AAE speakers in East Texas, and that its occurrence is widespread (1973).[57]

Situation 20. Some of the better students were tutoring students who needed help in arithmetic problems. The teacher was going around checking various groups at work. At the first group, the tutor stated: They been knowed.

Discussion. The subject "They" is the students, not the problems. The students have known how to do the problems for some time, the tutor having shown them a comparatively long time before the teacher had come around to check. The tutor, therefore, should have been complimented on her having done a good job. Stewart, commenting on a story by A. B. Lindsley's story "Love and Friendship" published in 1807, says the context makes it reasonably clear that the statement in the story, "I tink dey bin like sich a man de bess, for dey like for be tumel 'bout," can be translated as "I think they liked such a man the best, for they liked to be tumbled about. (1975).[58] The auxiliary "bin" is the past tense marker and applies to the second "like" as well as the first "like," according to Stewart.

Since "have" is never used as an auxiliary in AAE except as part of "shoulda," "coulda," and "woulda,"[59] it is deleted in They been knowed. They have been knowed should have "knowed" as "known," but there is a strong tendency to regularize all verbs so that "known" would be "knowed" in AAE. Going back to "been known," or, as it is in AAE, "been knowed,"[60] the verb is similar to Situation 13, "I been had it for a long time," i.e., the children have known how to do the problems, just as the child has had his "bad temper" for a long time. (See Smitherman.)

The ambiguity of a pronoun is always a problem in ME, and in AAE is often clarified by the pleonastic subject, "The problems, they been knowed." ME as well as AAE poses the same problem to listeners. AAE, however, poses a second problem to those who only know and understand ME in that the passive voice is not used by younger AAE speakers and the passive voice used by older AAE speakers is learned from contact with Me speakers. Fickett recognizes this as a problem when she notes that the passive voice consists of the form be, or being, or been + the perfect form: be sung, being sung, been sung, with been sung being homophonous with the been-phrase of the verb indicating pre-recent action.[61]

Bolinger (1975) warns that "homophones . . . can cause great confusion when a teacher fails to realize that her children lack a contrast that she takes for granted."[62] The loss of contrast can cause confusion when a teacher fails to realize that her _students_ have a contrast that _she_ is unaware of.

Situation 21. At the second group, one of the children said: I'm a do 'em.

Discussion. This should be translated as I'm going to do them right away (in just a moment). Accoding to Bolinger, "if someone says "I'm a-do it" he will do it in approximately 30 seconds, or in the immediate future" (Vol. 6, pp. 17-19).

According to Stewart, the pre-verbal a- in some southern Negro dialects may be the simple durative, I'm doing them.[64] If the simple durative is meant, it is used just as the child is starting to do something, that is, I'm just beginning to do the problems correctly.

Situation 22. A child had been sick and had asked to go home. After lunch the child was absent from class. Asking if anyone knew where he was, two children replied:

(First child): He done gone home.

(Second child): Unh-unh! He down in the office; he went home.

Discussion. "Differences in connotation can lead to utter confusion. A phrase translated literally can have a completely different connotation from the original phrase. If we are to translate accurately, or even work accurately in a different language or dialect, we must pay close attention to secondary meanings and connotations" (Hayes, 1977).[65]

Went is a special lexical item, according to Fickett. He gone home is to be glossed as "from here, this place." He went home is to be glossed as "from a place other than here." The speaker of AAE can say He gone home about an hour ago as well as He done gone home.[66]

The first child said that the sick student had gone home without checking out through the office. This was probably said with no intent to get the child in trouble; however, the second child's intent is definitely to clear the sick child of any possible mal-intent of not following the rules. She indicated that he had gone to the office first. In addition, she then said that he went home from there. He had not gone home; he went home. A great deal is involved in this situation in that no child in the primary grades is allowed, in most schools, to go home without a parent being there to receive her/him. A sick child might be kept in the nurse's office rather than be sent home to an unoccupied or locked place of residence. He down in the office is in the present tense, indicating the conditioned aspect of He went home.

"The problem of comprehension is what has been expressed by many sociolinguists," according to Abrahams. "Learning to understand what is being said goes beyond the development of a mutually comprehensible universe of discourse, for there is a dash of values (linguistic and otherwise) as well as of style" (1973).[67] There may be more or less the same grammatical form but with different truth value, according to Wm. Labov (1975).[68]

Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (1971) explains more fully:

you house?" However, when the is is included in the question in Mainstream English, this results in "Where is your house?" and in Afro-American English, "Where your house is?" with the is in final position.[70]

Wolfram and Fasold (1974) discuss "echo questions" and indicate that such formations as "Where your house is? "await further study" since this type of formation is not an "echo question."[71]

Can you come to where my house is after school?

Where your house is? (Echo question, requiring yes or corroboration for answer)

Where your house is? (Asking for information and requiring a detailed answer, not simply a corroborative "yes" for an answer.)

They claim that intonation and context make it clear that some forms are clearly independent questions rather than "echo" forms, but the intonation of this question does not indicate a question with its "demand" intonation of 4-3-1, requiring a negative reply, such as "Where do you think you're going!"; answer a defeated "Nowhere," or a combative "Out (of your reach)." This has not been discussed in the literature relative to intonation and stress. The context clearly indicates it as an information question.

Although phonology and grammar are the most frequently mentioned areas in which BE and SE differ, it should be noted that differences in phonology and grammar do not encompass the total range of factors which differentiate Black American English from varieties spoken in non-Black communities. Black American English has evolved in its idiomatic usages, metaphors, special styles and language uses which are deeply embedded in the shared experience and cultural heritage of Black people.[69]

Situation 23. A little girl asked one of the other students to go home with her after school. The child replied: *Where you house is*.

Discussion. In ME this would be *Where is your house*? and the intonation 2-2-3-1, or in *Where's your house?* 3-2-1. It might be 2-2-2-3-1, with a glide on "house." An AAE speaking child has as many ways to ask this same question: *Where you house is? Where you house at? Where you house?* These are different ways of saying the same thing, but the word order is different, the verb being the last word instead of the first word, as in ME. In addition, the intonation is different. *Where you house is*? is 4-3-2-1, starting a step higher than in ME. *Where you house at?* usually starts at 3 and descends 3-2-2-1, with "at" given strong stress, almost primary, and pulled out slightly. *Where you house?* is usually 3-1-1. In ME, the stress is usually on *house*, with almost equal stress on *Where*. In AAE, the stress is on *Where*. Intonation, stress, and syntax are different.

Mainstream English can contract *Where + is* to *Where's* in questions; AAE can delete the *'s* completely resulting in "Where your house?" With the "r" deleted from the possessive, this becomes "Where you house?" However, when the is is included in the question in Mainstream English, this results in "Where is your house?" and in Afro-American English, "Where your house is?" with the is in final position.[70]

Wolfram and Fasold (1974) discuss "echo questions" and indicate that such formations as "Where your house is? "await further study" since this type of formation is not an "echo question."[71]

> Can you come to where my house is after school?
>
> Where your house is? (Echo question, requiring yes or corroboration for answer)
>
> -----
>
> Where your house is? (Asking for information and requiring a detailed answer, not simply a corroborative "yes" for an answer.)

They claim that intonation and context make it clear that some forms are clearly independent questions rather than "echo" forms, but the intonation of this question does not indicate a question with its "demand" intonation of 4-3-1, requiring a negative reply, such as Where do you think you're going!"; answer a defeated "Nowhere," or a combative "Out (of your reach)." This has not been discussed in the literature relative to intonation and stress. The context clearly indicates it as a question.

Whether the auxiliary is deleted or not in such questions as "Where your house is?" does not apply where the auxiliary is in declarative sentence position. It may be of interest that the statement form of the question is used in many creole forms of English used as examples given in The English Language in West Africa.[72]

There may be a necessity in AAE for some word to be added to the construction "Where you house?" since quite often the question appears as "Where you house at?" in addition to "Where you house is?" Fasold and Wolfram also discuss the uninverted form for direct questions, What that is? when the question is a content question, suggesting that this form of the question as used in AAE is an old retained form.[73]

Situation 24. Asked if she ate lunch at school, a child replied: I been use to go to my house.

Discussion. Baratz indicates that "been" + past participle = pre-recent or distant past (in relation to the situation (1974).[74]

Wolfram and Fasold (1973) state that "the form 'be' can be used in Black English as a verb in the same constructions in which 'is, am, are, was, were' are used in standard English, but with a different meaning. The use of 'be' as a main verb denotes iteration or habituation."[75] If "used" is considered a verb in this sentence, then "be" as habituative can replace "am" etc. as an auxiliary, with the redundancy of "used to." If "used" is considered as the past participle used as an adjective, then Wolfram and Fasold's explanation suffices. The "been" would be habituative in the past, and apparently acts solely as a marker of what occurred in the past. However, there is an additional bit of information contained in the use of "been" + "used to + verb" in that the action was a habit in the past and continues into the present.

Geneva Smitherman compares such statements as I been use(d) to go to my house with the use(d) considered as a participle used as an adjective and I been use(d) to go to my house with the use(d) considered as a main verb. The first would be translated as "I have been used to going to my house" and the second would be translated as "I was used to going home" or simply "I used to go home" (1980).[76] Following Smitherman, the example should be translated "I have been used to going to my house" or "I am used to going to my house" with the indication that the action is not completed or in the remote past but is still continuing, or, at least, likely to continue. This interpretation is based upon the necessity, in AAE, to add an adverbial past time marker if the action no longer takes place, with the use of "was" as the auxiliary, just as it would be in ME. In both ME and AAE, the statement would be "I used to go home last semester" or "until last week."

William Stewart (1973) states that "been" as a general past-time marker is not infrequent in the speech of lower-class Negro children, but that it is a "mistake" in modern AAE, "the older non-standard (and sometimes even creole-like) dialect features [having] remained in use principally by younger children in Negro speech-communities . . ."[71] To translate "I been use(d) to go to my house" as a general period in the past, would, according to Smitherman and Stewart (Stewart includes J. Dillard in his discussion), be incorrect Afro-American English.

It may seem surprising to those who consider AAE as a non-standard dialect of ME that there is a non-standard dialect of AAE. Divergences from acceptable Afro-American English are discussed at some length by Claudia Mitchell-Kernan in Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community (1971).

Situation 25. Another child remarked: I ain' ate at my house.

Discussion. This should be translated as I don't eat at home (or at my house). Fickett (1975) translates ain't + past participle as didn't + base verb form, i.e. I didn't eat at my house, as spoken by children in the Buffalo, N.Y. area.[79] Mitchell-Kernan (1971) has a child translate his own I ain' got no mo' as I don't have any more,[80] thus I ain' ate would be translated I haven't eaten (don't have = I haven't). Beryl Loftman Bailey (1973) translates I ain't had as I did not (have), and indicates I ain't brang as difficult to designate as either one translation or the other: I haven't brought or I didn't bring.[81] The problem arises as to what the best translation could be since I didn't eat (Fickett), I don't eat or I haven't eaten (following Mitchell-Kernan), and I haven't eaten and I didn't eat (Bailey) are all apparently possible.

Considering the context of the first child having stated I am used to eating at my house = "I usually go home for lunch" and the next child saying one of the suggested translations above, the two suggested by Mitchell-Kernan (one of which was suggested by

Bailey), i.e., I don't eat at my house or I haven't eaten at my house are the only two which would fit the situation. That the other translation for a similar statement would be correct is not in doubt; however, the context in which something is said must always be considered, and the two translations given are the only ones which would not seem awkward:

First child: I am used to going home for lunch.

Second child: I didn't eat at my house.

Smitherman (1980) warns that the teacher should not expect all AAE speakers to use all the same patterns all the time; all ME speakers do not use the same patterns all the time.[82]

Situation 26. A third child entered the conversation, saying: I ain' never ate at my house.

Disussion. The stress is on the word never as recorded by the AAE speaker. It is, therefore, a strongly negative statement with a suggestion of superiority for not having eaten at home, a superiority which might be based on bragging or might be based on a feeling of inferiority for not being able to go home for lunch at any time; i.e., she has enough money that she needn't go home for lunch or there might be no one at home to prepare lunch for her. In any case, the teacher should be aware of the discussion having the potential of someone's reacting defensively and the need to control the situation so that no one's feelings are hurt.

Had the accent been on ain' and ate, there would be a wistful sound to the statement and the conversation might again involve hurt feelings. The statement is potent in significance. That it was translated correctly by most Subjects indicates that the grammar and the pronunciation caused no trouble to the teachers taking the test. However, those who underlined or strongly indicated the negative aspect of the statement showed an awareness that the statement contained more than a mere statement in the negative.

A language difference appears in the use of "my house" rather than "home." The use of "my house" is equivalent to ME "home" but "home" is equivalent to nothing found in ME unless it might be "with my parents" or "with my family." "Home" in AAE has a warmth which is not there in the ME use of "home."

Situation 27. Some children were fussing, making faces at each other and calling each other names. One of them was heard to say: Don' you be fixin' you mouf on me!

Discussion. The expression has no short and "to-the-point" translation as would be required in a verbal contest. The total meaning is Don't make faces at me now and don't start to do so because if you start and I let you get away with it, you will do it to me in the future and this I won't permit! The use of be fixin' is an indicator of habitual action and for the future as well.[83]

Fixin' you mouf on me involves the same idea in that fixin' indicates "getting ready to," an expression heard in southern White speech and probably known throughout the U.S. as being a "typical" southern expression. Many of the Afro-Americans living in this area have grandparents who came to Houston from Louisiana. The word as used in this typically AAE expression, however, has the additional meaning of "making a face at" someone. The preposition "on" indicates the idea that whatever face is "being made" will "stick to" the recipient, that is, if the child is allowed to make a face at the other child, the ugly face (and the disrespect it shows) will be permanently transferred to the recipient. It has a greater significance by far than the usual childish "making faces at" someone. To allow oneself to be treated with disrespect by one's peers is to denigrate oneself and this is not a temporary situation, but would lead to others disrespecting the child who allowed faces to be made on, or to be fixed on her. The use of be plus the on indicates a rather permanent state.

Robbins Burling notes that Afro-American "speakers use progressive tenses freely. . . ."[84] Instead of "Don't you fix you mouf on me," it is more normal for the AAE speaker to say "Don' you be fixin' you mouf on me," but the difference in meaning would be significant and the loss of the reference to the permanency of the insult would be lost. AAE speakers also omit the "ing" of words more often than do ME speakers, although in ordinary conversation ME speakers seldom say "ing." Labov states that both ME speakers and AAE speakers "follow the same pattern of stylistic variation of (ing): it is only the absolute level of /ɪn/ usage which varies." He adds that AAE speakers in New York have exactly twice as high a use of /in/ for careful speech as ME speakers and that out-of-town AAE speakers use /in/ even more (p. 396).[85]

Wolfram and Fasold (1974) say that "common in Vernacular Black English is the conversion of medial and final voiceless th to f, so that pronunciations as bof in place of Standard English both and muffin for nothing can be observed."[86]

The loss of the final "t" is discussed under other questions as this is a common phenomenon and occurs in almost every situation described in this text. It is of interest that the ME equivalent of "don' you" would be "donchu" with the final "t" of "don't" assimilated into the initial "y" of "you", a phenomenon of coalescent or reciprocal assimilation where the "t" and "y" have fused to produce an affricate, "ch."

You for your is a combination of deletion of final consonant (deletion of final "r") and the normal possessive of the subject form substituted for the ME possessive form, i.e., he book; my brother book; they uncle.[87]

Raven I. McDavid and Virginia G. McDavid explain that put the mouth on is translated as hex.[88] To fix is to be ready, prepared, to act, so that to fix one's mouth on someone is preparing oneself to hex someone, to make the initial movements of making faces at one's enemy.

Situation 28. Reading about a sad incident in a story, a child admitted: I was gettin' ready to cry.

Discussion. This is to be translated almost exactly as stated, "I was getting ready to cry," or "I felt like crying." This statement is not the same as the so-called southern "I was fixin' to cry." I was gettin' ready to cry is just that--getting ready to cry. Fixin' to cry is all set to cry, with little possibility of being able to stop from crying. Fixin' to cry is a more deeply involved feeling of sorrow than "Gettin' ready to cry." Both expressions are used by the AAE speakers of this area. This is AAE in that there is such a distinction made between the two expressions where there is no such distinction made in ME. Perhaps, "I cried a little bit" or "Tears came to my eyes" would fit "Fixin' to cry," but this still does not explain the exact point between not crying and crying that Fixin' to cry does. The child had not reached the point of Fixin' to cry. Those Subjects who indicated "getting ready to cry" translated correctly, but possibly through ignorance of the specificity of the stage of sadness indicated by the same words in AAE.

Robbins Burling (1973) carefully points out that the auxiliaries, "am, is, are, was, and were are regularly used by both" ME and AAE speakers, but that "some of them are omitted more easily in" AAE than in ME: "but there can be no question about the ability of" AAE speakers "to use them when they want to." However, "it was found that the use of was when the subject is second-person or plural (i.e., where Standard English takes were) is very frequent for Vernacular Black English: so much so that Labov et al. suggest that were is not part of Vernacular Black English at all."[89] Fasold and Wolfram give I was, you was, s/he/it was, we was, you was, and they was as the paradigm for AAE use of the auxiliary in the past imperfect.

The difference between AAE and ME "I was gettin' ready to cry" is semantic, a difference a teacher should be aware of.

Situation 29. Two little girls were arguing loudly and one told the other: Don' you go hollerin' at me.

Situation 30. The other child replied: Don' you be hollerin' at me.

Situation 31. The first child replied: Don' you go be hollerin' at me.

Discussion. These three Situations produce a scenario which will be discussed for comparisons made between the three remarks.

Don' you go hollerin' at me can be translated as simply Don't holler at me or Don't start hollerin' at me, preferably the first translation.

The second event, Don' you be hollerin' at me indicates an accusation of the other child's having started the fuss, the "be" showing that this is a customary action, that the child is always trying to boss people around in a loud voice.

The third event, including both go and be signifies an escalation of the argument, but the teacher should not be concerned that the "fuss" will "get out of hand." Afro-American cultural conventions hold that angry verbal disputes can be maintained at the verbal level without violence necessarily resulting, whereas Caucasians feel that angry verbal exchanges inevitably escalate into violence unless the "fight" is stopped. Since Caucasians do not engage in verbal insult as an extended activity, they do not understand that Afro-Americans use verbal disputes as a learning experience to develop their ability to use language to establish superiority. The more intense levels of Afro-American speech behavior are not intended to be particularly provocative or threatening since Afro-Americans regularly confront each other in a direct manner as a matter of course.

Thomas Kochman explains in depth the cultural differences between Caucasians and Afro-Americans relative to heated verbal exchanges in Black and White Styles of Conflict (1981). "The greater capacity of blacks to express themselves forcefully and to receive and manipulate the forceful assertions of others gives them greater leverage in interracial encounters at more intense levels of interaction."[91] Roger D. Abrahams (1976) states that "it cannot be overemphasized that Black children are taught to fend and to 'to go for' (stand up for themselves) in both the house and the street worlds . . . Black children are taught at quite an early age . . . activities . . . to assure their self-reliance in later life."

According to Abrahams, the necessity for a girl to learn to take care of herself is just beginning to be recognized in Caucasian society, but in Afro-American society "women are expected to be psychologically, socially, and economically independent of men . . . Acting and being regarded as respectable is not a static condition in any way: on the contrary, the most respected ladies are often those who maintain themselves at the center of the action." Girls learn how to behave by watching women and an Afro-American mother rears her daughter to be able to protect herself from anyone who might threaten the self-image of the child.[92]

Situation 32. A child who had been absent from school with a cold had returned to school but was sent to the nurse's office. She explained to the nurse: I be done start coughin'.

Discussion. I've just started coughing hard again is the translation that would best fit the speech example. Smitherman explains that done by itself indicates past action, either recently completely or completed in the distant past. The child could have said, therefore, I done start coughin'. However, this would have indicated that the child had come to school knowing that she was coughing and that she was no longer coughing. There would have been no reason for the child to have been sent to the nurse's office (unless the school required such procedure). When used in combination with another verb, done usually indicates only recently completed action, so that done start(ed) is to be translated I have just started coughing. This does not cover the information needed to show the child had been sick for some time: the be gives this information. It could indicate either that the child had been coughing for some time and had stopped but was starting to cough again, or it could be that the child had not been coughing for enough time for her parents to send her back safely to school but that she had begun coughing again at school and couldn't stop.

I have just started to cough is a close rendition of the statement, but the Raters recognized as good translations only those that indicated _again_.

Smitherman (1980)[94] discusses the use of "be done + past participle of the main verb," i.e., "I be done start(ed)" as the future perfect of ME, i.e. "I will have started." This is not the translation which would apply here because a time element would have had to have been used. Had the child said, "I be done start coughin' when I come (came) to school," then the more relevant translation would have been "I will have (just) started coughing when I got to school." However, no one gave this translation, and the Raters considered that the "again" indicated the correct idea. "I will have just started coughing again" is not what most children would say in ME, since the construction is more advanced than most fourth grade students would be able to use; however, the intimation that the child will have just started coughing at the time she got to class is clear in the translation as accepted by the Raters.

Situation 33. Asked what all the noise in the hallway was about, a child explained: *I's ki's aroun'.*

Discussion. The consonant of *It* is deleted, that of *kid* and that of *around*, giving an /s/ to the "s's" in the sentence, where the first "s" of *It's* would normally be /s/, but the "s" of *kids* would normally be /z/. The loss of final /d/ in *around* results in a nasalization of the diphthong "ou," resulting in /ãu/.

This is a phonologically problematic statement only as most ME speaking children would have used the same expression, and not have said "There are kids out there," although this might have been said. Had it been so stated, the AAE equivalent would still have used *I's*, meaning "It's" since final consonant deletion is the rule in AAE. Burling (1973) states that "many black speakers say *it is* (or it's) and *it was* where standard speakers would say *there is* (or there's) and *there was* . . . This really amounts to no more than the substitution of one word for another, and it implies no profound alteration of grammatical patterns; but it can give rise to sentences that deviate enough from standard English to cause misunderstanding."[94] There is the same substitution of one word for another in the use of "is" for "are" in It is for There are. Younger children seldom use the It was combination but use I's (It's) contraction for both It is and It was at all times. However, this is obviously the present tense usage.

The vocabulary is slightly different in this statement in that "aroun'" indicates action. It is not clear from the speech except on the tape whether the initial "a" is deleted or not since there seems to be a glide from /s/ of the plural of "kids" to the /r/ of "round" sounding very much as though the "a" is indeed pronounced. Since a pre-vocalic "a" is often used in AAE speech, especially pre-verbally (to indicate future action),[95] such an intrusion would be possible, or it might be the complete pronunciation of the word; the result is the same.

The statement indicates that there is no trouble. Had the statement been "I's ki's messin' 'roun'" the word "messin'" would have indicated a problem, since the word in AAE is not the exact equivalent as that of ME usage. "I's ki's foolin' 'roun'" could have indicated extravagent playfulness but that the activity was perfectly normal-seeming to the child was indicated by the simple statement of there being children in the hallway.

The difficulty in translation lay only in the interpretation of "ki's." It was interpreted as "kidding around." There was some difficulty, apparently, with I's being interpreted as Us, resulting in Us kids around or It's us kids around. This was surprisingly more complex than had been anticipated. Stewart (1971) states that "minor pronunciation differences between a non-standard dialect and standard English--each one perhaps trivial in itself--[can] pile up in an utterance to such an extent that the non-standard version becomes unintelligible to the middle-class listener, even though in grammar and vocabulary it may be quite similar to its standard equivalent."[96]

The deletion of final d is promoted if the word ends in an -s suffix, resulting in kizz, since words ending in ds cause the s to be pronounced as z. Wolfram and Fasold indicate that this does not apply categorically, so that kits will occur, with the d devoiced to t.[97]

Situation 34. Asked why she didn't open her book as directed, a child replied: I ono where i's at.

Discussion. The literal translation is: I don't know where it is; however, the apparent match between ME and AAE is confusing in that the "it" is ambiguous. To the teacher, who is primarily interested in the reading page, the sentence would probably be interpreted as not knowing where the reading selection was located in the book. To the student, the meaning is clearly not where the reading selection is, but where the whole book is. Another AAE speaking child would also so interpret the statement, as the reply in Situation 35 indicates. (See p. 356 for discussion of Situation 35.)

There is a difference, in AAE usage, when "there is" or "there are" is used: "I don't know where 'there is'" doesn't make sense." There seems to be some constraint to add "at" to clarify the statement: "I don't know where it is (it's) at" with "it's at" translated as "it is" in ME, but without the added information as indicated above, that is, "now."

An AAE speaker does not need the preposition in other forms, where there would be no confusion, i.e., "I don't know where he went" is "I ono wheah he go."

"I don't know what place he went to (exact location)" would be with the "redundant preposition," i.e., "I ono wheah he go to," or, depending upon legnth of time of having been gone, I ono wheah he gone to." (Note the difference between the use of "went" and "go," explained in Situation 22, with "go" as directly from the place known, and "went" indicating where there was, or might have been, a stop-over before going on to a specific place (p.324). The pre-immediate past would be "I ono wheah he gone to." The preposition seems, in AAE, to be explicit as to location, unlike so-called non-standard ME English, which makes no differentiation between "I don't know where he's gone" and I don't know where he's gone to."

Stewart (1975) recognized early in the study of Afro-American English that a sentence pronounced "Ah 'own know wey 'ey lib" (I don't know where they live) may be difficult for ME speakers to understand. Further, "a standard English speaker may misunderstand a non-standard utterance, even though he thinks he has deciphered it correctly, because it contains nonstandard grammatical constructions which are unknown to him." The example given by Stewart is "Dey ain' like dat" as being translated by ME speakers as "They aren't like that" when it means in AAE, "They didn't like that."[98] Similarly, the non-standard grammatical construction (in ME) may be known to the teacher, but the Afro-American English construction might be misconstrued by the teacher who knows what the translation would be in ME or its non-standard version, but not what the translation would be in AAE. "I ono wheah" is apparently not the problem here, since all Subjects translated that part of the statement correctly. It was the referent pronoun "it" which was misconstrued.

Incidentally, had Stewart's example been "I'own know wey 'ey lib at," the meaning would have been not "I don't know where they live" but "I don't know where they live now." (I knew where they lived, but don't know their new address.)

The "it," therefore, is not referring to the page or the paragraph to be read, but the book itself. The book has been lost or misplaced, "stolen or strayed" for some time, possibly from the time when the teacher said to get out the reading books, or even from a time further in the past.

Labov, et al. (1975) states that prepositional phrases are not of as much concern as inflections and forms of verbs in classroom correction, and are least likely to be brought to the attention of students in school. However, if there is a significant difference in message sent and message received, according to how and when prepositions are used, teachers might not make more classroom corrections but might, at least, understand more clearly what their students' problems are. It is not that the child can't find the place in the book, in this instance, but that the book is gone and the child doesn't know where it is. She had had it but has it no longer, with the possibility that the child is in no way at fault.

Situation 35. The child sitting next to her looked at her and said: I ain't know where i's at.

Discussion. "Ain't in this sentence is to be translated as "I didn't know where it went either." Again, "where i's at" is present location. "Ain't" negates the auxiliary "don't" in "don't know" but indicates the past. With "it," "ain't" is some form of "be," i.e., "It ain' nobody I can trust" (There isn't anybody I can trust); "Wasn't no girls could go with us" (There weren't any girls who could go with us). Without "it," "ain't" takes on another auxiliary form, and becomes either "didn't" or "won't," depending upon context. The teacher should note that "It" is the marker for the present tense usage. "Won't" is usually indicated by the future tense of AAE, "going to." Stewart (1975) shows "won't" as the future without "going to," but the context indicates a statement of fact in the future based upon past experience: "They ain't like that" is "They won't like that."[100]

With students who are older, there will be a mixing of both AAE and ME, with no apparent "system" as to which version is being used, which confounds the problem further. However, with younger students, the explanation of the use of "ain't" applies, at least in the area of Houston from which samples of AAE were taken.

Translated, the child is saying she didn't know where the book was when the other child was looking for it; she had tried to help and was not herself guilty of keeping back information. The statement does not refer to where the reading passage is.

L. W. Payne, Jr. (1975) states that "redundant prepositions are frequent, and omission of needed prepositions is also common."[101] What appears to be a redundant preposition is actually productive of a different meaning from that when the preposition is not used.

Jean Malmstrom explains "that the simple present and the preterite both exist as grammatical categories in basilect,* however, is clear from the fact that the two are negated differently: I don't see it 'I don't see it,' but I ain't see it, 'I didn't see it,'" and that "furthermore, a few basilect speakers do inflect the un-negated simple present with -s, e.g., I sees it, 'I see it' beside I see it 'I saw it.'"[102]

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*Basilect: that variety of a particular dialect which is structurally the most deviant from standard English. (Wm. Stewart, Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects, Black-White Speech Relations, Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971, p. 71.

Situation 36. Some kittens had been lost. The next day, when asked if they had been found, the child replied: They was up in the tree that be by us.

Discussion. They was is typical of AAE in that verbs in the Past Indicative tend to be reversed with I was, you was, s/he were, we was, you was, and they was.[103]

"Be" is where the tree is located and is a permanent situation or state, so "be" is used instead of "is" or its contraction "'s." Smitherman (1980) brings attention to the difficulty ME speakers have with translating forms of "be" used in AAE, although this is one of the most widely discussed features of AAE. She points it out as being the most distinctive difference between ME and AAE, with the be/non-be rule operating with systematic regularity in the Afro-American English speaking community.[104] "Be" could have been omitted had the child not used "that": They was up in the tree by us. This does not fit the AAE rhythm of sentence structure, however.

William Labov (1975) mentions that differences in analysis by William Stewart and by himself, particularly mentioning their differences as to how deeply the invariant *be* is integrated into the semantics of the copula system with *am*, *is*, *are*, etc., are differences in theory. They were among the first to note the different usage of *be* from that used by and understood by ME speakers. Smitherman's examples and explanations help in understanding how AAE speakers use *be*.

D. Crystal (1975) found prepositions to be the items showing the greatest divergence between AAE and ME.[106] Foreign students can attest to the peculiar logic on which prepositions in English, as opposed to those of their own languages, are based. Examples in which prepositions diverge in usage in ME and AAE are common; some of which are given below as taken from Bengt Loman's *Conversations in a Negro American Dialect* as recorded and transcribed in the "60's."

He slap me *in* my face. (p. 39)

She start hittin' *on* me. (p. 46)

Take *by* any color crayon (Take any color of crayon you wish). (p. 52)

Tell about the way you're acting in school *of* lately. (p. 56)

Sit *on* my seat. (Sit in my seat [at school].) (p. 56)

He was turnin' roun' in 'e people an' went out on 'e street. (He was skating through the crowd and went out into the street.)
(p. 69)

There is a bunch on Winston Place. (There is a group from Winston Place, or There is a bunch at Winston Place.)
(p. 72)

We saw her in 'e playgroun'. (We saw her on the playground.) (p. 73)

I can teach you in up de ice skat'n ring. (I can teach you up at the ice skating rink.) (p. 80)

Di' you ever try at it? (Did you ever try it?)
(p. 82)
(1967).[107]

Situation 37. One girl seemed to know all the answers. Another girl stated: *She can' wait for no kin' a turn*.

Discussion. The equivalent non-standard ME is exactly as stated in AAE, deletion of *t* in "can't" but pronounced as /k æ̃:/ with the nasalization of the vowel and a glottal stop for the *t*, the double negative, and the use of *a* for "of." However, the deletion of the final *d* of "kind" is permissible in AAE, whereas in non-standard ME it is not. Non-standard speakers of ME commonly say "That was kinda nice," although "That was kine a nice" is sometimes heard. In AAE, the final *d* is an adaptation towards ME, never pronounced when AAE speakers are speaking with one another with no ME speakers around. Shuy (1969) mentions that final consonant reduction is apparent in some oral styles of middle-class whites, "although not always as frequently as [by] Negroes."[108] Final consonant reduction of the *f* in "of" is not uncommon among ME speakers. The translation was made word for word by most Subjects, but with the deletion of the double negative: *She can't wait for any kind of turn*. This was considered adequate by the raters.

She can't wait for her turn, and *She doesn't take* turns were considered only partially adequate, at a very low level of translation, i.e., a rating of 1, while She can't wait for any kind of turn was rated as 2. She never gives anyone else a chance was rated as 3, the best rating.

Thomas Kochman (1981) in Black and White Styles in Conflict points out the different procedures for turn-taking which applies to Blacks as different from Whites in the classroom. What he says pertains to students in the upper grades in that students in the lower grades have been taught to listen, and not to talk in their learning experiences at home. It is important to Blacks that the speaker have something significant to say since if what one says is not worthwhile, others may challenge the speaker. In the White dominated classroom, a turn must be requested, and once the request has been granted by an authorized person, no other validation is necessary, whether the person has something of importance to say or not. "The black culture allows its members considerably greater freedom to assert and express themselves than does white culture. Black culture values individually regulated self-assertion," according to Kochman. He explains that there is a rule among Afro-Americans not to disagree with each other in front of whites.[109] It is for students to complain against another student wishing to answer all of the questions all of the time. To dominate the talking done in class is not up to the teacher but up to the audience, that is, the other students. The girl who is following the Caucasian method of wishing to be heard, is not only dominating the speaking but is ignoring the other students who wish their "turn," which they consider to be their right, either to accept or reject. "Reacting to the middle-class emphasis on extended adolescence, [teachers] treat even high-school students as if they were children, incapable of making independent decisions for themselves. Constantly fearing disorder, they expect students to ask permission for everything they do, even though by the time the average Black student reaches the upper elementary grades he has already had experience caring for younger brothers and sisters . . . and he is very much in command of disciplining himself," explain Gay and Abrahams (1972).[110]

Teacher authorization does not, to the Afro-American, give the student a right to "take her turn." The girl is being accused of being a traitor to her ethnic group. If the same thing had been said of a Caucasian by a Caucasian, the girl would have been being accused of "trying to be the teacher's pet." The Afro-American will no longer compete for White favors and will resent another Afro-American seemingly trying to do so. The student was not communicating with her classmates because she was not allowing or encouraging interaction with her classmates. (See Lloyd W. Brown (1974), The Image-Makers: Black Rhetoric and White Media.)[111] Arthur L. Smith (1974) states that "what is descriptively true of white speech and speakers is not necessarily true of black speech and speakers." The whole concept of "turn taking" differs between the two cultures. Linguistically, the statements are identical; culturally, and, therefore, communicatively, they are not, and must be "translated" differently.[112]

Afro-Americans get upset when someone "hogs the floor."[113] Since the conventions of turn taking are making the class boring to those who are not being allowed participation, the student having her prerogatives denied, is making an accusation, ostensibly to a second party but really intended for the student who is not observing the rights of others to state their points of view. This remarking something to another for the ears of the person who is not observing the rules of turn-taking is called "loud talking" and is an accusation meant to get the individual to stop taking too much of the class's time with her demands for attention. If the teacher allows the student who gives the answers the teacher is looking for to respond too often, without the consent of the other classmates, the others may "start something" with the other student. They may, if nothing is done, withdraw psychologically from the class. Loud-talking about the girl's not waiting for either her own turn or the other persons' turns is an effort on the part of the disgruntled student to do what the teacher should be doing: allowing others to give their opinions.

"No kind of turn" refers to the rights of the others to have their turns and does not refer solely to the girl taking only her turn. It is impolite to keep the floor despite the right by the teacher-authority, and the Afro-American, in this situation, is protecting herself in the manner appropriate to her culture's rules, by handling the situation herself rather than by "going through the teacher" an act which would indicate weakness on her own part, an inability to take care of herself "go for herself."[114]

Situation 38. Two girls were arguing. One of them remarked: I ain' goin' put no hurt on you.

Discussion. Deletion of final consonants is quite common in some conversational ME, in that many people do not say the "ing" of the imperfect tenses. "Ain'" has the final consonant deleted, as is customary in the use of the word by AAE speakers. Ain't is a rather complex item in AAE, but with the present imperfect, which uses "Be + V + ing," negated to "I ain' puttin'" the negation rule follows, as it does in ME, by using "going + Infinitive" to show the negated future: I'm not going to put. It is not uncommon for substandard ME to use the double negative, and so does AAE, although, again, it is the rule in standard AAE. (The negative in AAE is extremely complicated and is discussed in great detail by almost every linguist interested in Afro-American English studies.[115]

What is of particular interest here is the lexical item, "put a hurt on you" (the expression is with the 'a' indicating 'hurt' as a noun, rather than as a verb used as the object of 'put.') With the double negative, the 'a' changes to 'no,' that is, "put no hurt" followed by the prepositional phrase "on you." To put a hurt on somebody is to hurt somebody (AAE seldom, if ever, uses someone, somebody being used exclusively, at least in the area of Houston being studied.) A hurt can be a physical attack, and where that is not possible, a hex which can be the more modern threat of physically hurting the person at some later date. It can also mean actually to put a hex on someone, a belief in voo-doo which still applies today. It is a rather terrible threat in that the person upon whom the hurt is to be put would have no foreknowledge of exactly when the hurt would take place: now or later?

In order for a translation to be accurate with all the fear it might entail, the expression would have to include some expression of time, such as I'm not going to hurt you either now or later. Simply to render the translation as I'm not going to hurt you, was considered not quite adequate by the Raters, although it was rated as close enough for a 2. Most Subjects came close. The prepositional phrase "on you" was, however, not completely understood, the on indicating more than is clear in a translation of "I'm not going to hurt you." This is an assertion of self and indicates that this is a verbal argument only, and should so remain.

Situation 39. Asked what her mother did since she was not home during the day, a girl replied: *My momma she spote h'sef*.

Discussion. So much information is involved in this short statement that several sentences were required to give a good translation: My mother doesn't have a regular job so I can't tell you what she does for a living, or where she works, since this changes more or less often; but she does support us without any help from anybody, there being no father in the house, and no member of the family supplying aid in any way. (This statement, however, does *not* state that the mother is not on welfare of some sort, but that she receives no help from any other *person*.

My momma she is an example of the pleonastic pronoun which is common in AAE, particularly if the subject is to be stressed. As mentioned by Wolfram and Fasold (1974), "left dislocation itself is acceptable to many, if not most speakers of Standard English but only if there is considerable modifying material between the dislocated noun phrase and the pronoun."[117] *Momma* is the spelling (and pronunciation: more rounded /ɔ/ than is usual in Caucasian usage) of the word, and has a very strong connotation of respect, not attached to the use of Mama or Mother in Caucasian culture. The term "Mother" can be used to indicate disrespect for an excessively and uncontrolled female parent, but is a formalized version of almost the same image as the negativized "mother-in-law" image in Caucasian male society. The pejorative "Mother" image in AAE tends to preclude the use of mother where the mother is being spoken of with respect, resulting in the more formal and more respectful Momma of Afro-American English. It is not the same as Mama in Caucasian culture, simply a signal of endearment; Momma signals respect.[118]

Afro-Americans are generally guarded about what goes on in their private lives, and object when people try to probe for information, such questions violating the Afro-American rule of etiquette that grants the owner of the information the sole prerogative of deciding whether, when, and to whom it should be given. Such direct questions, if given answers, can place the whole family in jeopardy by increasing the social vulnerability of members of minority groups. If the mother is working, where (can the authorities get in touch with her)? What does she do (and can the authorities get in touch with her)? What the parent does for a living, and where, and when, and how permanently, can affect whether a family can continue to get help, or will be forced to accept help by insistance that a parent stay home to look after children (even if the children are being cared for by a responsible other member) by various governmental agencies. "Help" is oftentimes considered as "interference" and to give private information about what the mother does, where she is, etc., can endanger the security of an Afro-American family, as well as other minority groups. The child is giving out the information she has been allowed to give: The mother works. However, much can be understood beyond the exact translation: the mother is respected, works where and when she can, supports herself and her family as best she can without the help of money coming in through other individuals, and sees that her child or children are taken care of. Further questions would probably elicit "I 'ono," not because the child does not know the answers but because no other answers are allowed, according to Afro-American culture, to be given.[119] The mother is definitely NOT "playing around" or sporting herself.

Situation 40. Talking about the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, a girl stated: *It grave ev'body that been in there*.

Discussion. *Grave* is used as a verb, with the third person singular present tense formed as required in AAE, the "s" is deleted.[120] The word seems to be a combination of "being grave" and of "grieve"; the word is much more serious than the ME word "grave." Additionally, the word "grave" is more connotative in AAE than in ME in that it is "deadly serious," a meaning lost in contemporary ME usage, which connotes simply "serious."

Ev'body has the medial 'r' deletion used in such words as "Darrell" used in Situation 8. The 'r' deletion in *everybody* and *Darrell* is slightly different, in that the /r/ in *Darrell* is medial only while the /r/ in *every* is both medial and in unstressed position.[121] Since the /r/ in *every* is in stressed position, it is not particularly noticed, since this is a pronunciation pattern not uncommon in the Houston area. The use of "body" instead of "one" is typical AAE usage, and brings attention to the importance the Afro-American culture places on the individual as a person rather than as a number.

Fickett (1975) states that "the use of relativals as relating words in Merican is highly restricted (who is never used as a "relative pronoun") and remain to be investigated."[122] Fasold and Wolfram note that in ME, a relative pronoun can be absent in relative clauses if the pronoun replaces the object of the subordinate clause, so that "That's the dog I bought" is acceptable just as the full form "That's the dog that I bought." For most ME speakers, however, a relative pronoun is obligatory if the relative pronoun represents the subject of the subordinate clause as in "That's the dog which (that) bit me." But sentences without the relative pronoun in such sentences as "That's the dog which (that) bit me," rendered as "That's the dog bit me" are allowed by the grammar of many dialects of English which are not Mainstream English.[123]

"Been" is to be translated as "has been." Smitherman states that been is used in AAE to express past action that has recently been completed. It is not used when a period of time is over, finished, done with, no longer existent, so that a specific period of time cannot be supposed or specified. It is not correct, according to Smitherman, to say in AAE, She been tardy twice last semester. This should be rendered in AAE as She was tardy twice last semester. The semester is over, finished, done with. However, by the use of been in the sentence to be translated in this Situation, the construction indicates that the period is not over, not finished--it is still existent. By such interpretation, it is clear that the "grave" is the present tense "graves."[124]

Whether or not the 's has been deleted from the statement is very difficult to decide. The speaker may actually have said, It grave ev'body that's been in there. As Labov indicates, "The ear is a very poor instrument for judging the absolute quality of isolated sounds."[125] Since this speaker is a mature high school girl, and is using been where it is also used in ME with the contracted auxiliary 's (has), it is quite possible that the 's has been used but is not absolutely clear to the listener. It was not heard on the recording, which was not as "true" to normal speech as the original voice would have been. That the final s of the verb was deleted was accepted since this is the norm for AAE. That the sentence was not It is grave to everybody or, contracted, It's grave t'everybody was based on the non-hearing of both an '*s* and a '*t* plus the deletion of the *r* in *everybody*, in addition to this being the norm for AAE. Since the '*s* and the '*t* were not heard, it was assumed by most translaters that *grave* was the verb of the statement. If so, a lexical item of potent meaning is a part of AAE and not a part of ME, since it means literally *to be worried to death*.

The expression *been there* is reflected in the slang ME expressions "Where the child is coming from" and "The action is where it's at" (both expressions taken from AAE). In AAE, it is not slang, nor is it jargon, but is part of every Afro-American vocabulary.

In *Psychology and the Black Experience* (1972) Roderick W. Pugh lauds the book *Black Rage* written by W. H. Grier and P. M. Cobbs which interprets psychologically the relationship between Afro-Americans and Caucasians in this country. They state that ". . . the overriding experience of the black American has been grief and sorrow and that the Afro-American was governed daily by the knowledge that the "penalty for misjudging a situation involving white men . . . [would be] . . . death." Pugh states that "anxiety associated with blackness is still in progress. . . . "[126]

Situation 41. In the principal's office, explaining about her grades, a girl admitted: Mr. Smith I got a "F" in his class one time.

Discussion. All raters were agreed that the important element in this statement was the admission that the student received one F one time, but that that was possibly not the only time an F had been received, i.e., the student was admitting *only* that one F had been received. Unless an indication was clearly made of understanding the lack of specificity as to how many times an F had been made, then the translation into ME was not correct. Had the F been received for the entire semester, the "one time" would have been left off. The child is shucking.

"Shucking" is creating a false impression by conveying false information. According to Kochman (1972), "shucking" is primarily a defensive maneuver, and ranges from simply telling a lie to subtly fooling someone or making a fool of someone.[127] Being called to the principal's office and discussing grades which the student knows the principal can, if s/he will take the time, easily find out about places the student in a defensive position, even though the being called to the office is not usually a situation which would engender "openness" on the part of the student. The principal might, indeed, be looking for a student to fill a job that has come to her/his attention. Thomas J. Edwards, discussing this defensiveness, states "the development of certain response tendencies that operate at a reflex level . . . at times may seem inappropriate." He contends, however, that occasional misreadings are far less handicapping than pulling in the invisible defense antennae, which would make Afro-Americans "more vulnerable to the racial trauma that is still inevitable from time to time."

Dr. Edwards tells of walking to school with a Caucasian schoolmate who "got As on his report card, had respectable hopes and aspirations, and had reasons to hope and to aspire . . ." while the young Afro-American maintained his solid D+ average, although he was the other boy's intellectual peer.[128] He makes his point that grades Afro-American children sometimes receive from Caucasian teachers are negatively biased. Dr. Edwards is Professor of Education and Director of the Learning Center, State University of New York at Buffalo, earning his Ph.D. from Temple University.

Wolfram and Fasold discuss a similar statement in

The Study of Social Dialects in American English (1974), using it as an example of left dislocation of possessive noun phrases, the "his" referring to "Mr. Smith."[129] In this study, a similar sentence was taped with another teacher's name. The child making the statement was "shucking" for the benefit of an older girl who was "hassling" him on the bus which was filled with children being bussed from school. The girl was not fooled, but did stop trying to "put him down." Fasold and Wolfram use the statement, "Mr. Smith, I got one F in his class one time," which is different from the statement used in this situation in that _one F_ was stated rather than _a F_. There would be no difference in meaning, however. One F one time does not signify that only one F was ever received in that class, only that at one time an F was received. It would be possible that at another time another F had been received--the student is not telling. She is not lying, but neither is she confessing. This is the protective mechanism of maintaining personal privacy, questions concerning what the individual "earns," be it grades or money, violating the Afro-American rules of etiquette that grant the owner of the information the sole prerogative of deciding whether or not it should be given. The principal of the school should have looked up the answer rather than have asked the child.

I got a F, instead of *I got an F* is Afro-American English and is not reprehensible. Fasold and Wolfram (1974) explain about the uses of *a* and *an*, stating that in some varieties of English where *a* appears before a word beginning with a vowel sound (note: vowel sound, not vowel), the word *a* is often absorbed into the initial vowel of the following word if the vowel has the same quality as the article *a*, as in *He has a ugly face* which sounds like *He has ugly face*.[129] If the *a* seems to be deleted through absorption, careful checking will usually show that the there is a vowel elongation of the combined vowels. In this case, the vowel is not of the same quality as the preceding *a*, but is absorbed into a glide which quite closely "glued" to the word "got," with some respondents completely missing the *a*, translating the statement as *I failed Mr. Smith's class*, or *I got F in Mr. Smith's course*, both sentences missing the possibilities inherent in the AAE sentence of there being more than one F more than one time. The shucking was completely successful with some teachers. As Grace Sims Holt

(1974) points out: "The burden of interpretation is always on the person receiving the image reversal--the person denied, mocked, put down, or put on."[131]

Situation 42. Asked what she was doing in the afternoon, a girl replied: I be here.

Discussion. This can be correctly translated as I'll be here, but more accurately, it is I'm not going anywhere; I'll be here. Smitherman (1980) states that the *be* indicates habitual aspect, but habitual aspect is not necessarily yesterday as well as today. Always the context should be taken into consideration. The child is there now and will be there all afternoon.[132] Robbins Burling (1973) states that AAE uses the auxiliaries am, is, are, was, and were, although they are sometimes omitted, some more often than others.[133] As the main verb they are also sometimes used and sometimes omitted, although it would seem that the first person singular seldom, if ever, omits the copula. However, if the copula "am" is not used, it is displaced by "be," which "often implies a general state, or a habitual or intermittent action, rather than a single event . . . This use of *be* provides a concise way to indicate a meaning that can be communicated only by several varied and larger constructions in standard English" (p. 69).

Additional information is given with only a few words in AAE. "I'll be here all afternoon" would also be a good translation. This type of construction is one of the more commonly discussed differences between AAE and ME. The AAE construction is more "efficient."

Situation 43. Asked how she was doing on her final exams, a student replied: All I gotta do is get to the first basic.

Discussion. This is a seemingly ambiguous adaptation of the statement All I have to do is get the basics and All I have to do is get to first base (and it will be easy to get to home plate). The second statement is quite clear and shows that all the student needs is to pass. It is the first sentence that causes difficulty in understanding: what are the basics? The major points on the tests? Enough points correct to pass the tests? The statement as given in the situation includes both ideas: It is necessary to answer enough test questions correctly to pass and to pass is all that is necessary for the student to be advanced. The "basic rules" of the well-known "gentleman's C" is all that is required. If the student gets the basics, she is on first base, and, therefore, will get to second and third, and eventually, home, i.e., will be graduated. She's concerned only about getting on first, and will worry about further advancement when that problem comes up.

The pronunciation of basics (if the plural form was indeed intended, as in All I have to do is get the basics) as basic is an example of plural s deletion. Wolfram and Fasold (1975) claim that several careful studies of speech records have shown that the plural suffix is not always absent in the presence of a quantifier, such as two, some, or all kinds of, and results are conflicting as to whether it is more often absent when a quantifier is present. In the AAE in the Houston area, it is absent to an extent that the plural s is noticeable, not with Afro-American speakers, but with Afro-American English speakers. Additionally, an AAE speaker of the Houston area would never use all kinds of but would say all kin'a, i.e., all kind of, with the s deleted.[134]

The gotta in this sentence is the auxiliary plus the to of the infinitive to get and is common in ME usage. In AAE usage, it is required, however. Fickett (1975) states that "gonna and gotta are the nameforms of two modals . . ." with hafta never used as a modal.[135] This is a result of her research in Buffalo, N.Y., and it seems to apply to the Houston, Texas, area as well. All I hafta do is is a form never used. If a speaker does use it, it can be regarded as an assimilation of ME.

Situation 44. One of the students who had been driving to school had had her car repossessed. Talking about it, she said: I got used 've it.

Discussion. This is an interesting construction in that it is to be translated I got used to having it. The ing is apparently deleted. Since there is no morpheme cognate in AAE with the used to, only used to being used, Fickett (1975)[136] suggests that this may be a product of schooling. This would result in I used to have it, i.e., I useta have it. Got, however, is in such constant use for have in common, in both ME and AAE daily usage, that it was translated as have in some translations, i.e., I've had the use of it, I have gotten use out of it. To having has been curtailed to to have. It could be that the 'ing, commonly shortened to 'in in both AAE and ME speech in this area, the whole being attached to use (pronounced with /s/ rather than /z/, showing that this is not the present tense form, I use, but the past tense with the final d changed to /t/) assimilated into the t of to, with the to no more than a tongue tap on the alveolar ridge, has been further shortened into seeming non-existence. This does not occur with be + V + 'in, this being a legitimate tense in AAE, while to + V + 'in is not, only the infinitive being used. With the got + use(d) + to + V + in(g), there seems to be a conflict of grammars, a not unusual condition with the learning of a new grammar of any other language.

S. N. Sridhar (1980) states "Every experienced foreign language teacher knows that a substantial number of persistent mistakes made by his students can be traced to the 'pull of the mother tongue.' . . . Moreover, such a 'carry over' seems to result in the largest number of deviant sentences in areas where the structures of the native language and the TL [target language; in this case ME] differ the most."[137]

The words "mistakes" and "deviant" are used, but do not indicate a mental attitude toward either the mother tongue of the student or the target language the student is trying to learn. The AAE used in this example is possibly the AAE of this area only. Equivalent to it is the Spanish example, extremely common in this area, given by Daisy Crystal (1975), relative to the causative with to, as in Mary had him to come to her house.[138] This feature has been assimilated into much of the speech of both ME speakers and AE speakers. Problems seem to surround the use of the infinitive, either because of the causative or because of confusion with the noun phrase usage of the present participle. This is just one of the areas in which more work will have to be done. Crystal has been conducting research in the area of language interference.

Situation 45. One girl was chiding another for not answering her. Her friend replied: I'm real unconscious right about now.

Discussion. Instead of saying, "I'm sorry, I was thinking of something else," which indicates that the friend does not have priority at the moment, the AAE speaker is using another excuse, suitably vague, with less intimation that the friend is not sufficiently important at the time to be worthy of attention. The girl is saying, I'm not registering anything. This does not mean, I'm tired or I'm busy, nor does it mean I wasn't listening, although this is the closest rendition in ME, except that the entire onus of lack of communication is being absorbed by the girl who makes the statement, signifying friendship and extending an apology for her own shortcoming of not hearing what the friend had to say. There is no exact equivalent in ME, short of a long explanation. The slang expression, adapted from AAE, would be "I'm sorry, I'm just out of it right now," i.e., not "with it." However, even these terms, adapted from AAE, are adaptations and contain a mainstream connotation of not being completely at fault. To overcome this, a ME speaker would have to be effusive. The semantics is different although the grammar is apparently, and only apparently, the same. It is actually the syntax which is the same. This is one of those expressions that "cannot be said in another language." By the time it was said in another tongue, the participants would have lost their rapport.

William Stewart (1972) speaks of the subtle lexical variations between ME and AAE and the countless and idiomatic details of AAE which are not understood by ME speakers. He uses examples of "He's a bright child" meaning "He's a clever child" in ME and meaning "He is a light-skinned child" in AAE; that the difference in ordering of the expression "brothers and sisters" in ME and as "sisters and brothers" in AAE are distinctions not only in form but in meaning.[139]

Gay and Abrahams (1972) state that "the great majority of culture conflict in the schools arises because of differences in the communications or interaction system."[140] For the teacher to tell a child that s/he wasn't listening is much more rude than to tell a child her mind was wandering, but to admit that her mind was wandering might indicate a lack of attendance to the class's needs. Actually, the mind is turned in on itself, in the expression, I was real unconscious, a legitimate concern which the Afro-American child would understand. One does, indeed, have problems that one must think about.

Right about now admits to the time of day, or the usual period of time, as being the usual time when a person is possibly withdrawn. It is a conversational gambit indicating a wish to share with her friend and, at the same time, offering an apology for not sharing whatever her friend had been talking about. It is a social convention of speech inviting a sharing, and as such should be reacted to in a positive manner. Should a student use such an expression in discourse with a teacher, the teacher should recognize that it is an invitation to talk together, and not simply a rather rude reply, "I wasn't listening."

Subjects translated "unconscious" as being day-dreaming, as tired, and as being sleepy. A number were unable to put any kind of translation down. On what would look like a simple enough translation turned out to be surprisingly difficult; less than 50% of the Subjects could understand what was said sufficiently for the Raters to give them a good comprehension rating.

Situation 46. Asked if she were going to get a new school sweater after school, a girl replied she was and that: He goin' put me one in the ba' roon.

Discussion. This should be translated, He's going to save one for me to pick up later, or He's holding one for me in the back room and I'll pay for it when I have the money." The idea of futurity is there in that he may be holding the sweater for her at this time, but the going to refers not to his planning on holding back a sweater for her but to her planning to pick it up at a later date. The future refers to the time when the actual transaction will take place. If the girl were to pick it up that day, she would not have used the future of ME speech going to + V. She would have said, instead, He holding me one in the back room.

The syntax is sufficiently confusing as to present or future semantically for the ME speaker, but pronunciation differences confused the Subjects taking the test. The pronunciation of "goin'" in AAE rhymes with "cone," with a single vowel medially. "Back room" has the final consonant elided in the first word, resulting in "ba'" with a glottal stop indicating the loss of the /k/. Charles-James N. Bailey (1971) has recorded streak for street and whike for white in the speech of Americans, both black and white. This is the changing of the "t" for "k" (/t/ → /k/).[141] What is happening in the change of "back" to "bat" is the reverse and can perhaps be understood by examining the consonant sounds in their linguistic context, i.e., the sounds as they are located in the words.

A "stop" refers to the stopping of air to form a small explosion such as occurs in /b/ and /p/, /d/ and /t/, /g/ and /k/, and, in the back of the mouth, the glottal stop, the base of the tongue rising to form a stoppage of air but without any sound at all. These stops take place progressively from the front of the speech organs to the back, from lips to glottis. The stopping of air in a glottal stop tends to be heard as the weakened final "t" as in "bat" and the final "k" as in "back." With the initial sound being "b," it is possible that the formation of a "t" sound rather than "k" is the result of the shortness of distance between the location of the "b" and "t" as compared with the distance being the location of "b" and "k." To many ears, this weakened "k," resulting in a glottal stop (ʔ), was heard as the weakened "t" as in "bat," with an awareness that final "th" (/θ/) is often pronounced as "t" (/t/) in AAE. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) point out that where /t/ is used for the voiceless /θ), it is fore frequent if the *th* /θ/ precedes *r* /r/.[142] The following word, spoken as though it were united with the preceding word as one word "backroom," enhances the interpretation that the word is "bathroom," which, in both spelling and connotation, is one word. The *th* is immediately followed by *r*, resulting in *batroom*.

Fasold and Wolfram (1975) state that the use of a nasalized vowel usually occurs only at the end of word so that man, bun, or bum have the consonant deleted and the vowel is nasalized, all, therefore, sounding alike: *bun* →[bʌ̃] and *bum* →[bʌ̃], where [˜] stands for nasalization, as also *roon* →[rũ] and *room* →[rũ]; there is no way, except through context, to distinguish between the words.

AAE speakers in the Houston area which is being investigated, however, seem to carry the nasalization further, in that both final *m* and final *n* are pronounced as "n" /n/. When two words come together as in "come on" or "team up" the *m* is pronounced, but in combinations where the two words do not form so-called two-word verbs, the *m* is often changed to an "n," as in "some time ago" being rendered "su*n* ti*m*e ago," the first *m* becoming "n" yet the second *m* remaining as "m."

Fasold and Wolfram (1975) speak of a similar sort of characteristic relative to the verb "started" in that it is pronounced as *stard*. They state that "the verb *started* is virtually the only verb to undergo this process," which seems to require a different rule from the *d*-elimination rule of the past form suffix as in *He passed the ball* being rendered as *He pass' the ball* in AAE.[144] There would seem to be a different rule for the pronunciation of nasals in final position other than the simple nasalization of the preceding vowel.

It is this different pronunciation of "back room" which caused several Subjects to translate the word as "bathroom." The different pronunciation of going with the deletion of to, goin' put me instead of goin' to put me was mistaken for done put with the meaning changed from the future to the past: He done put me one in the back room (He has put one back for me or He has saved one for me in the back room, this last being only a partial translation of what was said. Going to can be abbreviated in various ways until it may finally sound something like He gon' go.[145]

The construction put me one is based on that which holds for give me one where the difference in the preposition is not taken into account requiring in ME put one for me, but either give one to me or give me one. The construction of put me one is used in Non-Standard English, but is consonant with the rules of Afro-American English.

Situation 47. Talking about having her hair done, a girl remarked: I want to have it done with extenditures.

Discussion. The problem word is extenditures. In ME this would be extensions (referring to an extension of the slim braids extended by adding beads to each braid to form a halo or cap of beads hanging down longer than would be possible with only the braids of hair). This is sometimes called hybridization and sometimes called malapropism.

J. A. Harrison, in 1884 noted that "the process of hybridization both in word-formation and in word pronunciation (if one may so apply the term) is extensively practiced by [Afro-Americans] . . ."[146] Crystal (1975) defines "fancy talk" as "the trend in Black discourse to employ, what, from the white point of view, seems to be overly ornate and sometimes malapropistic usage." She explains that fancy talk is semantic rather than structural and can only be understood within its "contextual back-up."[147] Those students who were not aware of the various styles of hair-dress, in fact not aware of the importance of hair in the Afro-American culture, could not extend their imaginations to include extending the hair.

The word expenditure is a word heard quite often in American English in all its dialects, money coming in and money going out, i.e., earnings and expenditures, being a major subject in American culture. It is possible that the word extenditure (from extend) was derived from the same rule which makes expend into expenditure, since such an overgeneralization is common when using a new word, or when using a word in a new sense. Such overgeneralizations produce items as bounded when referring to magazines which have been bound together into yearbooks: bound/bounded (to run in jumping leaps) and bind/bound (to tie together).

Several Subjects found this remark to be incomprehensible and left a complete blank. Crystal suggests that "it is possible that fancy talk might interfere more with communication than do structural differences between dialects" and recommends Abrahams and Dillard for information on fancy talk which they describe as being "a specifically black phenomenon."[148]

The sentence is ME construction, the student being an adult just graduated from high school and having acquired some control over "school talk."

Situation 48. Talking about where her father worked, a girl explained: My father he work at the outside the courthouse.

Discussion. By context, it is fairly easy to conclude that the father works outdoors, but what he does is not clear to ME speaking individuals. To the Afro-American this is a way of saying he is a yard-man, i.e., he works out in the yard, trimming hedges, mowing the lawn, etc. In contrasting two groups of students who had been tested by two Freshman English instructors at City College in New York, Crystal (1975) found "that prepositions are the items which show the greatest amount of divergence from one dialect to the other." She indicated that "[teachers] do not deal with them because, as is well known, it is extremely difficult to classify and describe prepositions in any language."[149]

Examples of difference in preposition usage in ME and AAE are given in the discussion of Situation 36. Loman makes the statement He work on (the) playgroun' (where there is reference to the man who directs activities) and a statement about a child We saw her in 'e playgroun' (where the child is, according to ME, on the playgrounds, or was at the playground) (1967).[150]

The difference between working *at* the outside and working *on* the outside might be reflective of a distance and time (space and time) logic, where *on* is more permanent (on a time clock? or on a permanent list?) as opposed to *at* which is a point or location. As Crystal states, "It is extremely difficult to classify and describe prepositions in any language."[151]

In *Conversations in a Negro American Dialect*, transcribed and edited by Bengt Loman in 1967, there are examples of different usage of prepositions in AA from that of ME. Some are given under Situation 36, pp. 359-61; additionally:

He cou' hear from da' ear. (p. 16.)	from - with
Dey caught me on ne dir' fiel'. (p. 40.)	on - in

An example of pronoun deletion is:

They were no' from aroun' here. They was aroun' Sumner Stree'.	deletion of "from"[152]

Payne (1975) also notes the usages of prepositions in Afro-American English.[153]

Courthouse is barely pronounced cou'thouse, with a stronger "r" than is usual. The speaker is a high school girl recently graduated, so that the influence of ME is indicated in her speech. However, it is much less strong than the Houston ME speech which tends toward a type of Network accent or Middlewestern accent, rather than a Southern accent. While it is true that final consonant clusters are shortened in AAE, the last consonant being the sound which is not pronounced, this rule does not apply to "rt," the /r/ being less strong than the /t/ so that it is the sound which tends to be reduced. "The reduction rule operates only when the second member is a stop consonant and only when both members of the cluster are either voiced or voiceless."[154] The second member, /t/, is a stop consonant, but is voiceless while /r/ is voiced. The consonant cluster, therefore, should not be reduced. However, when /r/ follows a vowel, or precedes a consonant, it is deleted in preference to the consonant which it precedes being reduced. In the example given, courthouse, the r is only slightly reduced, so that there was no confusion relative to the word. In truth, there would be no other possible word which would sound similar to courthouse in the sentence, coathouse and coachhouse being the only ones possible, and these highly unlikely. There were no errors made relative to the word.

Situation 49. Talking about a date she had had over the weekend, the girl commented: *He's bat*!

Discussion. The translation should be, *He was great*! The tense should be in the past. Smitherman indicates that events that took place in the past, such as the previous weekend, would use the same past tense of the verb *be* as ME. Those events which took place recently would use *be*. If the girl were dating the boy regularly, *be* would be used. One time in the past, *was* is required in AAE.

In the pronunciation of *bad* as *bat* AAE requires the devoicing of stop consonants at the ends of words when they are not in consonant clusters, resulting in voiced /d/ being devoiced to /t/. Additionally, in all varieties of English, the vowels of stressed syllables are lengthened before voiced consonants, so that *bad* is a slightly longer word than *bat*.[155]

David Claerbaut (1972) classifies *bad* as "jargon," meaning "good, desirable, or stylish." He states that "the mere fact that there is a uniquely black jargon or 'jive' does not mean that *all* black people employ it. In fact, though black people in all age groups converse in it, it is especially used among young black Americans."[156] Stuart Berg Flexner (1980) explains that although most cant and jargon are local and temporary, much persists that is apt and becomes part of the permanent vocabulary of the group members. Group members then spread some of this honored cant and jargon in the dominant culture. Jargon is "shop talk" and belongs to sub-groups. It can be technical, or can be social in its orientation, but it tends toward exclusion of "outsiders" incorporating some degree of secrecy.[157]

Under the definition of the language of Blacks belonging only to Afro-Americans, a sub-group of Americans, jargon would be the term applied to their language. By 1970, at the First Wisconsin Symposium on Linguistic Perspectives on Black English, held under the sponsorship of the Department of English and Linguistics of The University of Wisconsin, Madison, William Stewart (1975) could say,

> Linguists are now discovering that we have a full-fledged language here in the black community with its own structure, dialect range, and so on, with its own distinct structure and, in fact, its own distinctive history.[158]

What was once considered "jargon" has gained recognition as a language in its own right, whether described as a language or as a dialect.

Words which have entered the language as acceptable in conversation no matter who the individual and regardless of the age or sex of the individual, are no longer "jargon." In the Afro-American culture, to say that something is "bad" is a compliment understood by every Afro-American English speaker. The term lacks the dignity of formal written English but is used by every member of the Afro-American community. It has passed out of the "jargon" stage and is considered acceptable as legitimate conversational material.

Roger W. Shuy (1972) indicates the change in attitude toward Afro-American English when he states that "[i]t is clear from the emerging picture of the contrast between Standard and Black English that we have a situation which is unique in the study of language variation in this country so far . . . Very little research before (William) Labov addressed itself on the most crucial problems involved in socio-linguistic variation or degrees of stigmatization."[159] If "jargon" is the language of an "in" group, then the expression "bad" as used in Afro-American English no longer qualifies. It had been accepted in legitimate conversational Afro-American

English, as has "cool" since the 1960's Black Revolution. As used in AAE, the term, depending upon circumstances and the manner in which it is said, can mean the dictionary meaning of bad all the way to exceptionally good, or desirable. Talking bad can be no worse than "talking like a child" according to Stewart (1973).[160] Joan Baratz (1972) contrasts talking flat and talking country with talking proper, the first two referring to nonstandard varieties of AAE as described by Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (1969) and talking proper as elevated AAE.[161] Using what Baratz calls "adjective reversal, bad can mean the positive "He's a great guy."[162] B-a-a-d, strung out, definitely means "fantastically great," but b-a-d, not a fast bad, means he was great, fine, loved it. Intonation gives another clue in that good bad is 4-1; bad bad is 3-1. In this instance, the word was a 4-1 intonation from very high to low and said at a moderately slow speed. Her date was great.

Claerbaut (1972) calls such expressions as I can handle it jargon. The definition given is: "a very common statement asserting one's ability or competence with regard to a given task or even challenge.[163] In ME, this would not be considered jargon. In Caucasian society, it is also "a very common statement." If it is "very common" it is not jargon.[164] Jargon is the language used by an _in_ group to _disguise_ meaning from being comprehended by the _out_ group. Bolinger describes jargon as containing "an element of concealment, or at least of exclusiveness, in any jargon, professional or popular, that makes for identity or cohesiveness within the community."[165]

Claerbaut includes _be's_ defined as the verb _is_: used as _It be's that way sometimes_.[166] This is Afro-American English, and is considered an example of one of the most distinct characteristics differentiating AAE from ME being studied by linguists. If _be's_ is jargon in AAE, then _is_ is jargon in ME since "He _is_ a good teacher" in ME is the equivalent of "He _be's_ a good teacher" in AAE. So goes collard greens, cornbread, ham hocks, mustard greens, and turnip greens. A WASP is a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant in _Black Jargon_. What is it in ME? The same. If it's said by Afro-Americans, it's jargon; if it's spoken by Caucasians, it's Standard English. _You ain't sayin' nothin'_, all grammatically good AAE (not substandard AAE, "flat," or "country"), is "Your words are of no substance." Afro-Americans can talk jargon, and some of them do, but not all Afro-Americans talk jargon simply by speaking their language. If the language is "common," it is not jargon.

Considering the use of "I'm good and mad!" in ME, is not illogical to consider the use of "bad" to mean "good" in AAE.[167] "That car came pretty close to hitting me" is acceptable ME English, with "pretty" meaning "very" as does "good" in the previous sentence. Monroe C. Beardsley states that "[a] figure of speech can confuse your thinking, if you are not clear about its primary term and its second term, and if you do not recognize what kind of figure it is."[168] Bad, pretty and good are idioms, and an idiom is "an expression whose meaning is not really grasped from a totality of the ordinary meanings of its parts . . . [but] a new idiom may resist comprehension by the regular process of sensible guessing, and special procedures are often needed . . . The first difficulty with an idiom in a FL [foreign language] is that the learner does not recognize that it is an idiom."[169]

Many Afro-American English idioms are not recognized as such by Mainstream English speakers who quite often completely misunderstand what is meant semantically. Chastain (1979) is quoted by Croft (1980) as saying that "[m]eaning resides either in the semantics or the syntax of the language."[170]

He's bad is an Afro-American English idiom whose meaning resides in the semantics of the language which a Mainstream English speaker must understand if the differences between the native language (Mainstream English) and the target language (Afro-American English) are to be understood by the teachers who work with Afro-American English speaking students.

To call a minority group's language "jargon" while calling the majority group's language "language" is to denigrate the minority group's speech norms, and ultimately to denigrate the entire minority group and each individual within that group regardless of the characteristics of the individual.

Croft warns that "above and beyond the formal aspects of language, there are many sociocultural variables that must be accounted for in order to understand communicative acts completely."[171]

Situation 50. The school movie projector wouldn't work. One of the students advised: You fruges gon'.

Discussion. This is Your fuse is gone. Where ME would probably say Your fuse is blown, Your fuse is gone is almost equally possible. This is part of ME conversation at an informal level when used to describe someone who has become very angry, i.e., S/he blew a fuse when the car wouldn't start. The problem here is with pronunciation. The syntax and the lexicon are exactly equivalent to ME.

The pronunciation of fuse as fruge (to rhyme with rouge, that is, with the /ž/ of the medial sound in the word measure), with the epenthetic intrusion of r, is not often encountered in AAE, but when it is, it causes almost complete incomprehension. Piestrup encountered it in the pronunciation of "bugle" as "brugle." She explained it as a decoding problem.[172]

The difficulty of interpreting "fruge" as "fuse" is compounded by the pronunciation of "s," usually pronounced by both AAE and ME speakers as /z/, as /ž/. In the area of Houston being studied, "bruise" is often pronounced as "bruge," again with the /ž/ substituted for /z/.

In Conversations in a Negro American Dialect (1967), "few" was pronounced as "frew."[173] It is here suggested, since insufficient evidence has been collected by linguists to make a statement concerning this particular intrusion of "r," that the following /iu/ might have posed some constraint on introduction of an /r/. Both /f/ and /b/ are labials (the /f/ is a labio-dental affricate and the /b/ is a labial stop),* with /iu/ formed frontally. The intrusion of "r" (/r/) has been traditionally quite common, having been recorded by Harrison in 1884,[174] but is far less common than is "r" (/r/) deletion.

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*Labial - lips; dental - teeth; africates: f, v, th, ph, sh, ch, etc., stop: b/p/t/d/k/g.

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